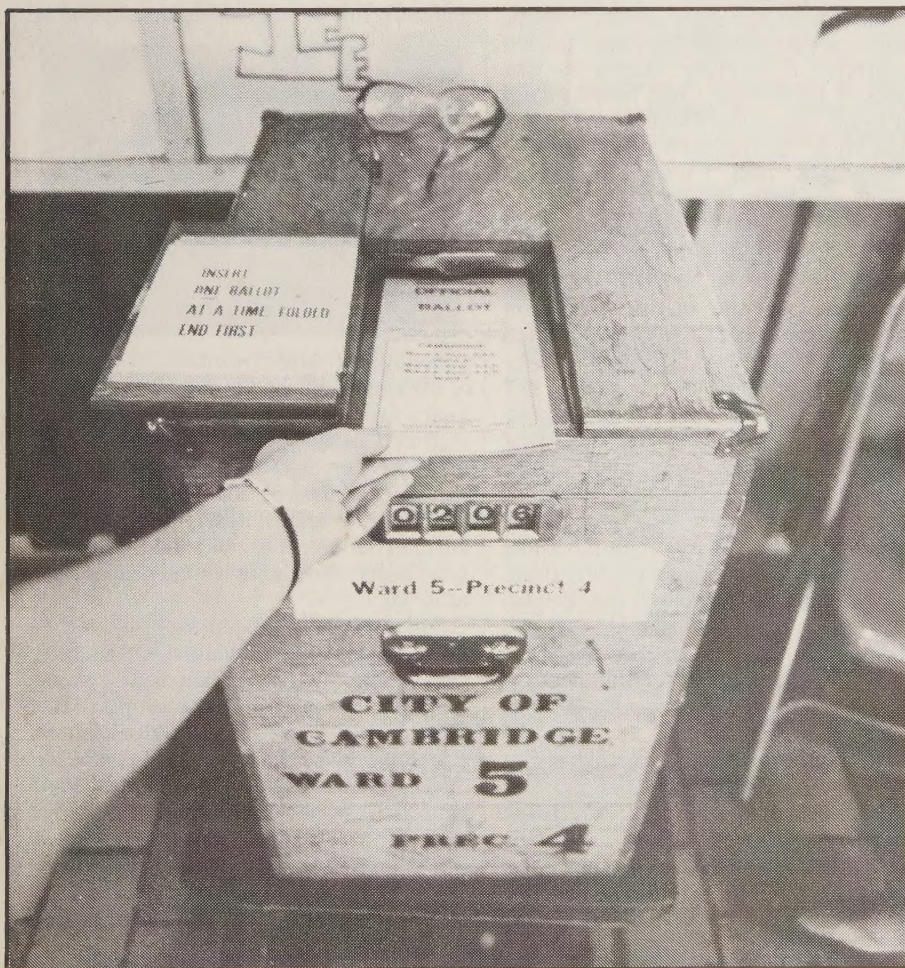


• NUCLEAR • TIMES

OCTOBER/NOVEMBER 1984 • \$2.00

The Homestretch *Campaign Report* ■ Page 12



Coming Alive In '85

By David Cortright

As we immerse ourselves in electoral work in these coming weeks, it is not too soon to begin thinking ahead. What challenges and opportunities will we face after November? How do we move toward freezing and reversing the arms race in 1985 and beyond?

The answer will depend to a considerable degree on the outcome of the presidential election. If Reagan is reelected, the arms race will continue to accelerate and we will face a heightened threat of war. U.S. military intervention in Central America will also deepen, perhaps leading to direct combat intervention. If the Democrats win, we can expect the arms contractors to descend on the White House like vultures to sweep aside all promises for peace.

No matter who wins the presidency, a strong and lively peace movement will remain a vital necessity. We must prepare now for a creative and forceful response to the challenges of next year.

(continued on page 18)

A Nuclear Free Zone With Bite

■ Page 11



CONTENTS

EARLY WARNINGS	4
BLUEPRINTS	6
NATIONAL	7
Whither the quick freeze? Women in Washington. Plus: Reagan and Armageddon. Elf-busters make tracks. And introducing the Sperry "Software Pair."	
NOTES FROM ABROAD	9
IDEAS THAT WORK	11
CAMPAIGN REPORT '84	12
The movement on Mondale. Home-stretch strategies to G.O.T.V. Updates on "hot" congressional races. Plus: Primary resolutions.	
FORUM	18
"New Directions—Part V": A look at what <i>you</i> told us about movement unity. And SANE's David Cortright devises a new legislative plan.	
RESOURCES	20
CALENDAR	23

Editor Greg Mitchell

Managing Editor Renata Rizzo

Resources Editor Ann Marie Cunningham

Contributing Editors David Corn,

Corinna Gardner, Suzanne Gordon, Howard

Kohn, Maria Margaronis

Art Director Lloyd Dangle

Publisher Cynthia Kling-Jones

Circulation Kippie Norris

Intern Agnieszka Fryszman

Board of Directors Jack Berkowitz,

Hodding Carter, Robert Friedman,

Wade Greene, Colin Greer,

Adam Hochschild, Jonathan Z. Larsen,

Thomas B. Morgan, Thomas Powers,

Anne Mollegen Smith,

Susan Margolis Winter, Anne B. Zill

Cover Illustration Lloyd Dangle

Cover Photo Suzanne Rothschild

VOLUME III, NUMBER 1

NUCLEAR TIMES (ISSN 0734-5836) is published 10 times a year by Nuclear Times, Inc. Room 512, 298 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10001. (212) 563-5940. Single copy, \$2; yearly subscriptions, \$15; Mexico and Canada, add \$7 per year postage; all other foreign, add \$17 airmail/\$7 surface. Bulk rates apply, please inquire. Copyright © 1984 by Nuclear Times, Inc. All correspondence should be sent to Room 512, 298 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10001. Allow six weeks for address change.

Letters

Diverse Case Scenario

I'm disappointed that NUCLEAR TIMES would waste valuable space on Howard Ehrlich's attack on Randy Kehler and the freeze movement (Sept. '84).

Twenty-five years in the peace movement have taught me the same lessons that Kehler has learned: In unity there is strength; in political action there is a realistic possibility for change.

Unity does not preclude diversity, but diversity without unity is wheel-spinning self-indulgence. Demonstrations and civil disobedience have their valuable place as attention-getters and examples of high conscience at work to inspire public support. But as we anti-Vietnam War veterans know, they did not bring an end to that war because they failed to reach the policy-makers directly. They failed to take the vote

seriously enough to promote voter registration and focus on the voting records of members of Congress. Freeze Voter '84 addresses these realities. It takes the power of the people (democracy) seriously and asks voters to exercise their sovereignty to change things. This is principled and intelligent and effective action.

—Mildred Reynolds
Hampton, VA

United We Stand, But Where?

I applaud NUCLEAR TIMES for initiating this dialogue within the peace movement about coordinating our national agendas. It's long overdue. Besides the obvious advantages at the national level I believe the strength of such a federation will be in supporting local organizing efforts. It's at the local level in small communities that organizers get pulled in 50 different directions from 50 different national organizations. And it's upon these local groups that we depend to change the face of Congress—and ultimately the Pres-

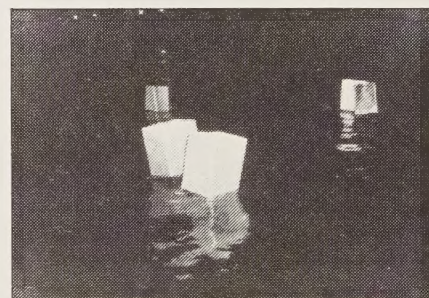
EDITOR'S NOTE

On this day, at this hour, 39 years ago, tens of thousands of Hiroshima's citizens were in this river, seeking shelter from the scorched earth and burning heat. For many, I knew, relief was useless, or came too late; their charred, swollen bodies floated like dead fish on the surface of the river. During my two weeks in Hiroshima I had heard, again and again, about the ill-fated who "went to the river" on August 6, 1945. And so, on August 6, 1984, I went to the river myself.

After attending an ecumenical service and the official peace ceremony—after visiting the cenotaph, and the Children's Monument, and the earthen mound in which the ashes of 70,000 unidentified victims are stored—I rented a rickety old boat near the A-Bomb Dome, and rowed out into one of the six narrow fingers of the Ota River. The sun blazed (just like on "that day"), the current barely moved. I touched the water to determine how much relief this river might have offered the A-Bomb-afflicted. (The water was barely cool.) From the trees along the shore the cicadas screeched, reminding me (as they always did, in Hiroshima) of the ceaseless cries of the innocent dying a terrible death—the death of objects, not people—on this very spot. Thirty-nine years later, the victims did not seem to be resting easily.

That night, as on every August 6 in Hiroshima, surviving relatives of those who were exterminated on that day came to the river. In a ceremony to console the dead, they walk down to the river edge, light candles and place colorful paper lan-

terns in the river. Tens of thousands of lanterns drift down the Ota in the dark, past the Peace Park, and out to sea. Again, I rented a boat and rowed out into the river. Now the cicadas were quiet. Solitary lanterns—red, yellow, or green—drifted by my boat; they passed in pairs and in families of flickering flame.



Whenever a candle went out, I thought of a life extinguished in this very river 39 years ago; it was easy to make this association because the name of a victim was hand-written on the side of each lantern. But as the lanterns bobbed gently down the river, under a nearly full moon, it seemed as if those who had perished needlessly had finally found true peace after all.

They would not sleep well that night, however. Seven hours later, when a rare earthquake hit Hiroshima, nearly shaking me out of my bed in the middle of the night, I could not help but think about the paper lanterns, and reflect that after 39 years the victims of the atomic holocaust still were not consoled, and would not be consoled, until the true message of Hiroshima rocks the world, and nuclear weapons are abolished forever.

—Greg Mitchell

unsecured for over four years at the Los Alamos Laboratory" (which he was responsible for at the time). Dingell also charged that in Congressional testimony in 1983 Hoover "did not give an accurate portrayal of security problems." An Oversight staffer who attended Hoover's confirmation hearings in August contends that Hoover continued to offer "misstatements and untruths." (The Senate confirmed his appointment.)

Hoover is now resisting Dingell's call for an independent office to monitor nuclear security. Says the Oversight staffer: "We're still finding security problems. There's a question of whether the reforms are adequate. I really think close scrutiny is needed—given Hoover's past record and misleading statements." And—it might be added—given the Reagan Administration's massive expansion of programs at nuclear facilities.

MX-TRICATE: The MX compromise worked out by House and Senate leaders on September 20 appears to be a major victory for anti-MX forces. Last May the House voted to delay funding for 15 MX missiles until next April, when Congress would take up the issue again. The Senate, however, approved production of 21 missiles with no strings attached. The September compromise virtually echoed the House position, indicating that even the Republican-dominated Senate has detected slipping popular support for the MX.

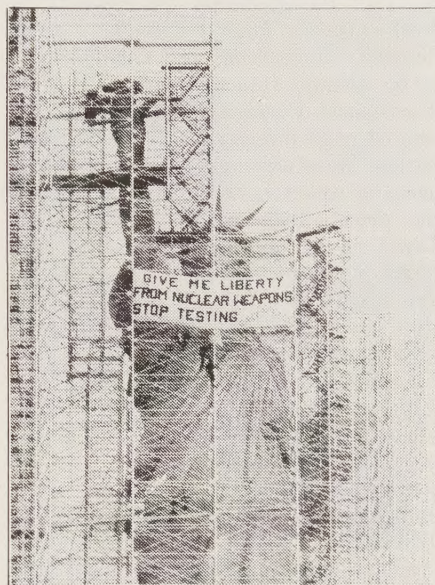
Under the terms of the compromise, both the House and Senate will have to vote *twice* next April on whether to go ahead with the MX. Opponents of the MX need to win only *one* of the four votes to block further production. Another sign of anti-MX strength: the number of missiles in question was set at 15 (the President originally ordered 40). House Speaker Tip O'Neill predicted flatly: "The MX will never be deployed."

FREEZE AND HARDEN: Because the moral case for the freeze has apparently not been sufficient to halt the arms race, some freeze supporters are now stressing the military case for the measure. One of the most effective arguments yet was presented by Representative Les AuCoin in the September issue of *Arms Control Today* (a publication of the Arms Control Association in Washington, D.C.).

AuCoin notes that even if Congress gives Reagan all the weapons he wants, and the United States hardens its missile silos to five times their current protective strength, survivability of our ICBMs will actually be drastically *reduced* in the 1990s because of the growing accuracy of Soviet missiles. At the present time 440 U.S. ICBM warheads would probably

survive an all-out Soviet attack. With hardening, but *without* freeze, only 90 warheads would survive in the mid-1990s. But under a 'freeze-and-harden' policy, that number would soar to 990, largely because a halt on flight testing of new ballistic missiles would prevent significant increases in accuracy. Freeze-and-harden "will do more for ICBM survivability than any currently proposed weapon or arms control initiative," AuCoin writes.

AuCoin's office has prepared a "Freeze Makes Military Sense" packet, and is



Four members of Greenpeace on August 6 climbed scaffolding surrounding the Statue of Liberty, which is undergoing renovations, and hung a banner which read: "Give me liberty from nuclear weapons. Stop Testing." Then they were arrested. Last spring two Greenpeaceers hung a sign around Big Ben in London which stated: "Time to Stop Testing."

distributing it through the Freeze Campaign's clearinghouse in St. Louis. This type of material is crucial, notes AuCoin aide Neil Thomason, because it can "persuade those who strongly oppose the freeze on grounds that it's a nice idea but too idealistic. Our arguments show that the freeze is the *realistic* idea. A nuclear arms race can only look attractive to those who ignore the fact that the Soviets won't be standing still."

ALL THE WORLD'S A STAGE: The musical fantasy *Peace Child* is set in the future, when peace reigns on earth and children look back on that fearsome period in the 1980's when the Americans and Soviets were rattling their nuclear sabers at each other. There are "myriad versions" of *Peace Child*, according to its British author David Woolcombe, who has spent the past two years directing the play in four U.S. cities, supporting 42 local productions and distributing 1500 study guides. A core of 12 to 15 songs and basic plot structure is used, but variations occur as the children, who "gallop ahead" in their thinking, suggest new possibilities.

Now *Peace Child*, under Woolcombe's direction, is about to reach new audiences. It will be performed as part of a Peace Child Festival in St. Paul, Minnesota from October 19-21. The Minnesota Peace Child Project will create a Peace Village on the State Capitol Mall in St. Paul, which will feature workshops and exhibits to stimulate peacemaking among children, parents and teachers.

Woolcombe is also attempting to use the Twin Cities as the site this December for the U.S. end of the "Children's Space Bridge," a simultaneous production of *Peace Child* in the United States and the Soviet Union. The Space Bridge would

Blips

National peace groups are still talking about mounting a spring 1985 **mobilization**, featuring a mass rally in New York or Washington, D.C., plus regional and local actions. The first meeting of a steering committee took place Sept. 25 **Anagram** making the rounds: Ronald Wilson Reagan = Insane Anglo Warlord How many antinuclear groups are there? First edition of the **American Peace Directory** (Ballinger Publishing) listed 1350—but an updated version will list at least 3000 local groups and another 1000 local chapters of national groups The December issue of *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* will contain a 32-page supplement, "Nuclear War: A Teaching Guide," for college teachers "The peace movement is too dissected," folksinger **Richie Havens** tells NUCLEAR TIMES, so to help "tie the limbs together" he played a major role in a new Parallel Films documentary, *The Waking Giants*, which will debut in December One of the most serious **verification problems** yet is about to be introduced. A new program called VLS—Vertical Launching System—allows a wide variety of missiles (including cruise) to be launched from *cannisters* that can be placed on virtually any ship—from cruisers to frigates The **Non-Proliferation Treaty** will be reviewed by its 124 signatory nations in Geneva next fall and some fear that some states will withdraw. Greenpeace, Nuclear Control Institute and Federation of American Scientists are asking other groups to help them prepare for the review If, after all is said and done, the giant **MX missile** is placed in those slender Minuteman silos, only thin mechanics—no more than 16 inches wide—will be able to work on them, according to the Air Force **Nicole Hollander**, creator of the "Sylvia" comic strip, has created *Women's Voices: The Gender Gap Movie* for New Day Films in Chicago .

involve a satellite television link between Minneapolis and Moscow; American children and Soviet children would play their respective roles, and the two casts would be spliced together, using the "chroma-key" technique, and displayed to audiences on large television screens. Woolcombe, who spent 10 days in the Soviet Union in May, said the Soviets are receptive to the \$175,000 Space Bridge production, but he is having some difficulty lining up a television producer in Minneapolis.

SHOCK OF THE BAY: The Navy's plan to conduct tests with a large electromagnetic pulse (EMP) simulator in the ecologically fragile—and commercially productive—Chesapeake Bay has brought protests from the Maryland Governor's office, fishermen, local utilities and a number of citizens' groups. The proposed Empress II is a barge-mounted device that would shoot 7 million volts toward warships to test their ability to survive EMP pulses, which are generated by nuclear weapons explosions and are known to destroy unprotected electronic systems. Scheduled for completion in 1987, the Empress II would be floated near the center of the Bay, replacing the less powerful Empress I.

The state of Maryland opposes the Empress II's location on several grounds, says Bob Lunsford, environmental review officer of the state's Tidewater Administration. During tests, a 12.6-square-mile-area would be off-limits to recreational and commercial boats: fish and birds near the barge may be killed by the electricity (including some rare and endangered species), and people a fair distance from the barge may receive a slight shock. A spokesperson for the Navy said the device would be used 10-to-20 days per year in the Bay.

Governor Harry Hughes, Senator Paul Sarbanes, and the two Maryland counties closest to the proposed site have sent letters to the Navy opposing the location. Del Marva Electric Power and Light Company and Baltimore Gas & Electric Company have written to the Navy, says Lunsford, questioning whether the simulator would effect operations at their Calvert Cliffs nuclear power plant, which is 26 nautical miles away from the site. And the local Sierra Club, the Chesapeake Bay Foundation (the largest citizens' group concerned with protection of the Bay), the Maryland chapter of the National Boating Federation, and the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign—among others—have voiced objections to the project.

Items for this section were contributed by Alex Miller, Eric Roth and Mordecai Specktor.

Blue~Prints

Studies, Proposals & Brainstorms



The best laid plans for reversing the nuclear buildup have often become mired in issues of verification. In an effort to address some of the widespread anxiety about treaty-cheating that has plagued arms control initiatives recently, the Ploughshares Foundation in California has funded a study, "Arms Control, Verification and Compliance," to be printed this month by the New York-based Foreign Policy Association as a 64-page monograph in its Headline Series. The study has been reviewed by a panel of experts, including members of the press (such as Strobe Talbott of *Time*), former high-ranking Pentagon and military officials (such as William Perry, Walter Slocombe and Admiral Stansfield Turner), and former U.S. negotiators (Paul Warnke and Gerard Smith). The author of the study is Michael Krepon, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace located in Washington, D.C.

"The current situation is ominous," Krepon said recently in a telephone interview, referring to the standstill in negotiations. "Both sides are asking fundamental questions about each other's intentions and the value of negotiations." Such pervasive skepticism, Krepon suggests, not only jeopardizes future agreements, but can lead to noncompliance with existing treaties.

Krepon proposes a number of ways to shore up eroding confidence in treaties and the methods for verifying compliance with them. "We can't insist on the same kind of bean-counting agreements," Krepon says, referring to the new breed of mobile, multiple-warhead missiles. He suggests that a set number of warheads be counted for a particular system. An MX, for instance, which can carry as many as 10 warheads, but is frequently loaded with fewer, would nevertheless be rated a "10."

Beyond counting methods, Krepon stresses the need for expanding upon cooperative measures for easing verification, such as limiting deployment of mobile launchers to certain areas, deploying missiles during set hours of the day, and identifying production facilities. Krepon



would also like to see political leaders in both countries publically commit themselves to uphold the limits set by the SALT treaties even after December 31, 1985, when the unratified SALT II expires. And Krepon thinks it would be useful to finally ratify other treaties formulated during the SALT era, such as the Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty and the Threshold Test Ban Treaty, which mandate the exchange of scientific data (such as the geologies of the test sites, which would strengthen verification).

Krepon objects to the administration's insistence on on-site inspections, arguing that the practical benefits are overrated and far outweighed by attendant political problems. And Krepon differs with those in government who would like to expand the scope of negotiations beyond deployed forces to include production and inventory. He would like to see negotiations in those areas some day, but, he says, "there's a lot of progress to be made before then."

Meanwhile, the TTAPS "Nuclear Winter" study, which was released last October, is breeding a spate of new research. The U.S. government has commissioned the National Academy of Sciences to undertake a similar study, which is due out this fall. In September 1985 another report is expected from the Scientific Committee on Problems of the Environment, which is composed of scientists from a dozen countries, including the Soviet Union, the United States, West Germany and India. And the U.S. government is currently conducting a broad, \$50 million inter-agency investigation of the issue.

The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) recently released a report, "Environmental Warfare: A Technical, Legal and Policy Appraisal," which reiterated the TTAPS findings and added some new dire predictions which cite the potential for the explosion of a single nuclear warhead to raise sea levels by approximately seven meters or send asteroids crashing into the Earth.

The Stockholm report is exceptional in that it openly attempts to mix science and policy, exhorting readers to take an environmental stand against nuclear weapons. By contrast, the rest of the post-TTAPS reports are studiously scientific, focusing on such uncertainties as the exact height and density of the smoke cloud that would cast the pall of a nuclear winter. Articulating the policy implications of the nuclear winter theory is being left to the policymakers, who seem to be holding a guarded silence.

—Corinna Gardner

NEW STRATEGY SEEN

Quick Freeze Falters

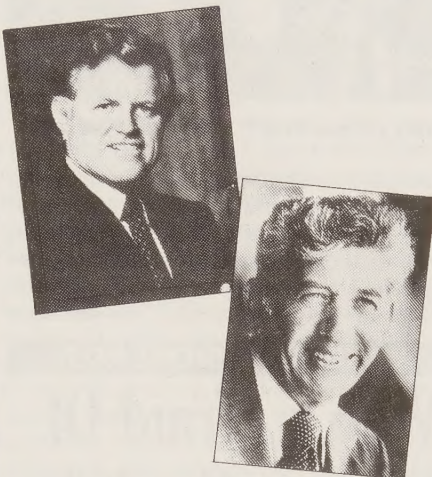
The "quick freeze" may not be dead but it appears that the Freeze Campaign's original version of it—long criticized for being both too strong and too slight—is being sent out to pasture. The beleaguered Arms Race Moratorium Act, drafted by Senators Edward Kennedy and Representative Ed Markey, working closely with the Freeze Campaign, has been all but supplanted in the Senate by a new bill authored by Rhode Island Senator Claiborne Pell. And in the House, Representative Nicholas Mavroules introduced a more comprehensive version of the quick freeze on September 10. Critics charge that the Freeze Campaign has mishandled the quick freeze from the start, and Chaplain Morrison, the Freeze's legislative coordinator, concedes that "perhaps some errors were made."

When the quick freeze strategy was developed at last December's national convention, it was held out as the Campaign's next major policy initiative. The Freeze Campaign decided to pull back from a comprehensive freeze and call on Congress instead to use its budgetary powers to take a first-step towards arms control—independent of the President. The so-called "President-proof" bill would use Congress's power of the purse to halt the testing and deployment (but not production) of new ballistic missiles and ASAT weapons, and stop underground warhead testing as long as the Soviet Union did the same. It was a complex compromise which, in retrospect, may have been "too complex . . . to get people to respond to it," says Morrison.

The quick freeze strategy was criticized from the start by Common Cause and SANE representatives at the convention who wanted the Campaign to focus on the MX, and by others who thought the Freeze should concentrate solely on electoral politics in 1984. In addition, it drew fire from some Freeze activists because it did not include the Pershing or the cruise missile systems, and from Capitol insiders who considered the concept of a direct Congressional foreign policy initiative too extreme in an election year. "There was an agreement to support this bill [the quick freeze] but never a real consensus," notes Christopher Paine, senior policy analyst with Physicians for Social Responsibility and a consultant to the

Freeze on legislative matters.

Congressional aides who helped draft the bill claim they fought with the Freeze Campaign over the President-proof principle because they knew it would be difficult to sell on the Hill. Kennedy-Markey



Kennedy down, Mavroules on the move

aides complain that when their act failed to quickly gain more than a handful of cosponsors in the Senate, the Campaign "switched horses in the middle of the race," and decided to also back Pell's effort. The Pell bill was endorsed because it is consistent with the Freeze convention's quick freeze resolution, Freeze staffers say. The difference between them is "mostly linguistic," says Jane Gruenebaum, assistant national coordinator for the Freeze Campaign. "The differences between the Bible and the Koran are mostly linguistic, too," replies a Pell aide who helped draft the bill.

Pell's Arms Race Control Act takes a more moderate approach to the issue of Congressional initiatives in foreign affairs, constitutionally the President's domain. It would have Congress act directly by calling on the President to make a proposal to the Soviets, but unlike the Kennedy version which would have Congress control the beginning and the end of a moratorium, the Pell bill deals only with a temporary "halt" in nuclear weapons testing and deployment followed by a "good-faith" negotiation effort by the President. Concerning the decision to back the less forceful Pell version, the Freeze Campaign's Chap Morrison says, "It is not good to lobby two

bills . . . but we wanted a better test for the quick freeze resolution." Senator Kennedy "had to take the heat on that," Morrison concedes.

The two-bill problem has arisen again because of Mavroules's new quick freeze bill. It responds to criticism that the Markey bill didn't go far enough. It would cut funds for the production, as well as testing and development, of *all* nuclear weapons, in a comprehensive moratorium. Freeze staffers have not endorsed the Mavroules effort yet but say it "may" be endorsed next year.

Paine says that, in the overview, the Kennedy-Markey bill was successful, despite "tremendous" resistance. "One-third of the bill was passed by the House in the form of its ASAT moratorium," Paine points out. The moratorium idea was also used in the House effort to table the sea-launched cruise missile. It became part of the Democratic Party platform and the Mondale campaign. But Paine acknowledges that the Arms Race Moratorium Act did not "go as far as people who were pushing for the bill had hoped."

Congressional aides and some anti-nuclear lobbyists—while reluctant to speak for attribution—placed the blame for the Arms Race Moratorium Act's failure to gain more support in Congress on the shoulders of the Freeze Campaign's national leadership. The Campaign did not respond to the criticisms of the antinuclear groups which withheld support from the quick freeze, some activists charged. Instead of advancing an idea that the entire movement could support, they came forward with "a compromise that was really pretty radical in a year when there were other things on the agenda," asserts Eric Fersht, Greenpeace's Washington-based disarmament director. "The Freeze's democratic process is great in principle," Fersht says, "but there have to be some reality checks in there."

But fortunately the legislative divisiveness that has surrounded the quick freeze principle this year probably will not continue in 1985. Fersht, Paine, and Morrison all agree that unity is the most important ingredient in next year's legislative strategy. They have called for building on the moratorium concept and the use of a series of complementary bills to give their strategy flexibility. The series of bills would either combine a comprehensive moratorium with limited moratoria and cuts in specific programs, or break the concept of a comprehensive moratorium into its three testing, production, and deployment parts.

—Douglas Lavin

LEGAL CHALLENGE FAILS

ELF Off The Shelf

The state of Wisconsin and Marquette County, Michigan, have decided not to appeal an order issued by the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals that lifted an injunction on construction of the Navy's Project ELF, a \$240 million system of antennas designed to transmit simple, one-way radio messages to deeply submerged U.S. submarines carrying nuclear weapons. The injunction, instated on January 31 by Federal Judge Barbara Crabb, required that the Navy conduct an environmental impact study to account for possible health hazards of non-ionizing radiation, a by-product of large power sources such as the ELF (extremely low-frequency, transmitter. But the Appeals Court found no "reason or justification for further delaying this national defense project."

The plaintiffs dropped their legal effort against ELF after a U.S. Supreme Court justice, John Paul Stevens (considered "sympathetic" by many antinuclear activists) refused to reinstate the injunction while they prepared a formal appeal. "We have no confidence in a favorable decision by the Supreme Court," said Harold Bergan, chief policy advisor to Wisconsin Governor Anthony Earl, "and an unfavorable decision could put us in a worse position than we're in today."

Community groups are remaining active in their opposition to Project ELF, and the state of Wisconsin is considering other ways to oppose the project. Stop Project ELF (SPE), the citizens' group based in Madison, Wisconsin that successfully encouraged the state to bring the lawsuit, plans to continue grass roots organizing and public education efforts, according to SPE staff member John Stauber. The group is putting together a 50-page "primer" on ELF, says Stauber, providing background on the project. The booklet should be available in December, before the Navy begins a series of four public hearings in Michigan and Wisconsin to draw up a new Environmental Impact Statement (EIS).

SPE is exploring other legal grounds to continue the fight, such as a class action suit—citing health hazards—on behalf of people living near the site, and it is seeking to cut off funds in Congress. Another anti-ELF group, Citizens for Alternatives to Trident/ELF (CATE), completed "desurveying" the 56-mile-long Michigan ELF site over the Labor Day Weekend. Calling themselves "ELF-busters," the activists pulled out survey



Navy got you down? Who you gonna call?

markers along the route of the antenna, attracting coverage by local media and the AP wire service. If the Navy tries to survey the site again, says CATE spokesperson Charles Turvey, CATE will continue to "play these tricks." —Alex Miller

WOMEN'S CONFERENCE MEETS

Who's Afraid Of Virginia Woolf?

The sound engineer looked alarmed. He turned the dials on his control board and then took off his headphones, unable to identify the loud humming noise that surged through the room. At the podium Dr. Dorothy Austin, executive director of the Nuclear Psychology Program at Harvard Medical School, broke off her speech as a member of the audience stood up to explain that the electronic moaning sound was the monthly testing of the civil defense system for the nation's capital. "I have never been so eloquently interrupted," Austin quipped after the siren subsided.

But perhaps the most fitting sound effect at the first National Women's Conference to Prevent Nuclear War, held on September 12 in the Cannon Caucus Room of the U.S. House of Representatives, was the steady buzz produced by the paging system which called representatives throughout the building to votes on the House floor. Although structured as a fairly standard educational conference—and studded with celebrities such as Sally Field, Billie Jean King, Rosalynn Carter, Jane Alexander and Coretta Scott King—the primary concern of the gathering was political.

Actress Joanne Woodward, chairwoman of the conference (which was

sponsored by the Center for Defense Information), proposed to some 250 members of the audience (handpicked for their organizational and/or financial clout) three general objectives: getting out the antinuclear vote on Election Day, stopping all nuclear testing by the 40th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima on August 6, 1985, and assembling an International Women's Conference To Prevent Nuclear War next year.

Another major proposal came from Betty Martin Musham, a New York businesswoman, who announced from the floor that it was incumbent upon the gathering to change its name—to substitute the word "lobby" for "conference." Musham reported that a caucus of women had solicited \$20,000 in pledges during an impromptu lunch-hour campaign, and that in two weeks Joanne Woodward would convene an initial planning meeting for a National Women's Lobby to Prevent Nuclear War. The crowd applauded.

A host of other "action calls" were proposed by conference speakers and attendees. Former New York Representative Bella Abzug called for the formation of a "shadow government" to call attention to important meetings of the State Department and the National Security Council. Dr. Helen Caldicott urged women to work for the election of 200 female members of Congress by 1986, who will form a "200 Club." Eleanor Smeal, past president of the National Organization for Women and now head of the Gender Gap Action Campaign in Los Angeles, urged greater partisanship, arguing that antinuclear organizations must begin to overtly attack "the policies of the current administration." Maj Britt Theorin, member of the Swedish Parliament, pressed for a unified focus on a comprehensive test ban. Ruth Adams, editor of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, said that for too long "unilateral" has been a dirty word, and that it was time to raise popular support for "independent initiatives." Yolanda Sanchez, president of the Puerto Rican Women's Caucus, contended that with "one-to-one contact" the social ill-effects of the nuclear buildup could be used to engage a greater number of minority women.

The broadest cultural message, echoed throughout the conference, came from syndicated columnist Ellen Goodman, keynote speaker. Goodman admonished women not to get stuck with the current "lopsided social change," where women have managed to enter traditionally male worlds in ever growing numbers, but so far have been unable to significantly change those worlds. Invok-

ing the words of Virginia Woolf, Goodman called on women to apply "new words" and "new methods" to solve the old problem before them—a man-made military threat.

—Corinna Gardner

"SOFTWARE PAIR" ON TRIAL

Sperry Takes A Pounding

A federal grand jury has returned one-count felony indictments against a man and woman who hammered and poured blood on military computer components being manufactured by Sperry Corporation. Barbara Katt, 26, and John LaForge, 28, a couple from Bemidji, Minnesota, entered Sperry's suburban Eagan plant early on the morning of August 10, and "willfully and by means of hammers," according to the indictment, damaged two power sources and a chassis drawer being produced in a prototype manufacturing laboratory. The computer parts were being produced under contracts for the Navy and Air Force. An FBI agent testifying in a preliminary hearing stated that about \$50,000 in damage was done. The trial was set to begin on October 8.

Katt and LaForge dressed in corporate blue suits and easily made their way past security guards during a shift change. Their intention was to disarm computer parts for the Trident nuclear weapons system. Through study of a Sperry annual report, they learned that the corporation won a \$797 million contract to produce "the next-generation navigation system for Trident II missile-firing submarines." Finding the components they were looking for, Katt and LaForge unfurled a banner reading, "Violence ends where love begins," and began hammering on electronic components on a workbench. Employees watched LaForge and Katt finish their action, thinking that they were disgruntled Sperry employees running amok.

The employees, however, were reluctant to accept a "Citizens' Indictment" of Sperry leaflet which the couple had prepared. The statement argued that the Trident submarine with its arsenal of nuclear-tipped missiles constitutes "a weapon of indiscriminate destruction, aggressive and offensive by its very nature," and is denied legal sanction under a number of international treaties. Although the Sperry protest is strongly reminiscent of numerous "Plowshares" incursions undertaken since 1980, Katt points out that Plowshares actions are generally characterized by more participants and a more religious orienta-

Notes From Abroad

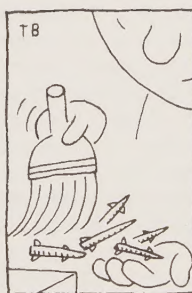


Atlantic Crossing

- Almost a year has gone by since the deployment of the first cruise and Pershing 2 missiles, and the **European peace movement**, though set back and depleted in some respects, is now working to broaden the campaign against specific weapon systems into well-informed resistance to militarism and the cold war.

The consolidation of the North Atlantic Network is one step in that direction. The Network links activists and researchers from about a dozen countries with North Atlantic seaboard, including Britain, Ireland, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Greenland, Iceland, Canada and the United States. Its purpose is to coordinate opposition to the increasing militarization of the North Atlantic and to link it with the peace movement's other concerns. On August 24-26 in Reykjavik, Iceland, the Network held its second conference—the first to be attended by North American activists. The delegates discussed NATO and Soviet strategy in the North Atlantic and shared information about military developments, such as the upgrading of NATO installations in the Faroe Islands (whose parliament voted this year to declare a nuclear free zone), the U.S. decision to homeport the Iowa Task Force in New York City, and the building of extensive new U.S. radar and communications facilities in Iceland. The first two weeks in June 1985 were earmarked for actions calling for a North Atlantic nuclear free zone and opposing the deployment of nuclear-tipped and conventional sea-launched cruise missiles by the U.S. Navy. (To coincide with the conference, European Nuclear Disarmament has published a booklet entitled *North Atlantic Network: The Alternative Alliance*, available from END, Southbank House, Black Prince Road, London S.E. 1, England.)

- In **Poland**, a section of Solidarity that calls itself Ranks of Peace and Solidarity, has initiated a nationwide peace movement. The new organization demands the withdrawal of all nuclear weapons and Soviet soldiers from Polish territory



and the reduction of arms production and security forces. It also calls on the Western peace movements to give "open support" to the activities of independent peace movements in the Eastern bloc. Ranks of Peace has the support of *Fighting Solidarity*, the underground newspaper of the Solidarity trade union and of KOS, the Social Defense Committee. Its principles have also been endorsed by Jacek Kuron, the prominent socialist dissident who was recently released from jail, in an open letter calling for a demilitarized zone in Central Europe. The group has begun a leafletting campaign and intends to organize petitions, demonstrations and prayer meetings. It hopes to support and inspire similar organizations in other Eastern bloc countries based on this sentiment: "Only a simultaneous and universal peace movement both in the West and in the East can save the world."

- In **West Germany**, NATO is holding the largest military exercises since World War II this autumn, and the peace movement is responding with an attempt to disrupt the maneuvers. Five peace camps were set up at military sites in the Fulda Gap region, which NATO generals consider the most likely spot for Soviet tanks to roll across the border. On September 29, activists tried to stop the war games with barriers and antitank traffic signs. Most wings of the West German peace movement participated in the action, although (according to a Green Party representative from the area) the Social Democratic Party is keeping its distance because the NATO exercises involve integrated strategies for chemical and conventional weapons, as well as nuclear ones. A series of regional mass actions will take place on October 20.

- Anti-Tomahawk cruise missile actions this fall continue to energize the growing peace movement in **Japan**. But during the summer there was even more squabbling than usual between the two major peace organizations, Gensuikyo (which is backed by the Communist Party and stresses the termination of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty) and Gensuikin (which is supported by the Socialist Party and backs a more gradualist approach). The positive side of this is that so many activists have become disgusted with the political party-oriented groups that a genuine "third force" of independent grassroots groups finally seems to be coming together. Kasei Yoshida, who was deposed as head of Gensuikyo in a Communist Party power play early in the summer, told NUCLEAR TIMES: "The movement is at a turning point. The independent citizens' groups will now have tremendous influence."

—Maria Margaronis and Greg Mitchell

APOCALYPSE NOW?

"Rapture" Master Ronnie

tion. Katt and LaForge were jailed in 1982 when they poured blood on a Sperry recruiter's literature table at the University of Minnesota, Bemidji.

The couple, who in court entered pleas "for disarmament," were heartened to learn about the assignment of federal judge Miles Lord to their case. In December 1983, Lord (who may be featured on an upcoming segment of the



LaForge and Katt: On trial for disarmament

CBS news program "Sixty Minutes") accepted a guilty plea by Sperry to charges of overbilling the Defense Department on an MX missile system contract. Under the plea agreement worked out with federal prosecutors, Sperry paid more than \$1 million in penalties and costs. Judge Lord vehemently criticized the prosecutors in that case for not bringing criminal charges against corporate officials. "It's unconscionable," he remarked from the bench. "Not one individual is punished. There is one justice for the rich and one for the poor." Lord said he would like to the put the executives "on a snowbank in front of [Sperry] and take two or three harness bulls and lug them off to jail." —Mordecai Specktor

Does Ronald Reagan really believe that the end is near? That nuclear war with the Soviet Union is *inevitable*? These are just some of the questions raised by the Armageddon Project, sponsored by the Christic Institute, an ecumenical public policy center based in Washington, D.C.

Recent research compiled by the Institute has linked the President to the doctrine of "dispensational premillennialism." According to pre-millennialists' interpretations of the Old Testament, economic upheavals, two World Wars and the rise of a godless power—i.e., the Soviet Union—are indicators of approaching Armageddon. The apocalypse, they believe, will take the form of a nuclear war in the Middle East, culminating in the destruction of the Soviet Union, the defeat of the anti-Christ, and the beginning of eternity. Born-again Christians will escape the destruction of the world by being "raptured"—lifted off the face of the earth to join Christ—leaving only their clothes behind (along with non-Christians) to perish in the holocaust. This determinist view is held by about eight million Americans, according to Andy Lang, research director at the Institute, and is most aggressively promoted through the "electronic church" by television evangelists. Foremost among this group, perhaps, is the Reverend Jerry Falwell, who has written widely on "rapture" and who has publicly stated that President Reagan agrees

with him on "the whole question of prophesy." Longtime Reagan-watcher Ronnie Dugger, in an article in the *Washington Post*, has cited "at least five occasions in the last four years" on which the President seemed to endorse this view. The inevitable question was posed by William Martin in *The Atlantic*: "If the nuclear destruction of Russia is fore-dained . . . might not a fundamentalist politician regard his finger on the button as an instrument of God's eternal purpose?"

The Armageddon Project was originally formed to have an impact on the election by disseminating information and sponsoring seminars and debates. "But it's been hard to organize," Lang says, "because most people feel it's too bizarre to be true." Once the public understands that the fundamentalist movement is not a cult, but comprises a substantial part of American evangelism, Lang says, it will be easier for them to believe that the President may have joined its ranks. The Institute plans to compile "more and more compelling evidence" in the months to come. And it's not working alone. Joe Cuomo, an independent radio producer and journalism professor at Queens College in New York has made a 1½ hour public radio broadcast—"Ronald Reagan and the Prophecy of Armageddon"—that features interviews with fundamentalist leaders and various Reagan friends.

—Agnieszka Fryszman

Wrap-Up

Events were held in over 25 communities, and more than 10 civil disobedience actions, resulting in nearly 500 arrests, were carried out during **Mobilization for Survival's** "Peace—Not War—in '84" weekend, September 22-24

.... The **World Series** played havoc with major peace actions in the Midwest. The Freeze Campaign in Detroit pushed back its "Survival Line" human chain from October 13 to October 20 so that it wouldn't conflict with a hoped-for **Tigers** game, and Chicago activists worried that a **Cubs** game at Wrigley Field would draw attention from Grant Park, where their mass rally was scheduled The Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute in Berkeley, CA has started a **Peace Law Brief Bank** to assist peace activists in need of "sound legal analysis and innovative courtroom strategies" The **nuclear free zone** divestment ordinance passed by an Amherst, Massachusetts town meeting last May was ruled unconstitutional by the state's attorney general in early September. But on September 19 the city council in Hoboken, New Jersey passed an NFZ/divestment ordinance (see page 11 for details on the only other divesting city) Meanwhile, the NFZ campaign in Ann Arbor, MI, leading to a November vote, is shaping up as a rerun of last year's showdown in Cambridge, MA. NFZ opponents have even hired the same costly publicity firm Plans for an exchange of U.S. and Soviet performers this fall promoted by **PAND International** fell through when the Soviets said they could not put a good program together in time. Meanwhile, the number of Soviet communities which have responded to **Pairing Project** goodwill packages has reached 27—but over 1000 have been slow to respond. Project head Earl Molander calls this "less than we hoped for"

WON'T HARBOR ILLUSIONS

Foes of Fleet Make Waves

Fifteen months ago when he announced the Navy's plan to establish a base for the newly refitted U.S.S. Iowa and six support ships on Staten Island in New York Harbor, Navy Secretary John F. Lehman Jr. was asked if the seven ships would carry nuclear weapons. Lehman declined to answer, citing the Navy's policy of neither confirming nor denying the presence of nuclear weapons.

As the facts have unfolded since Lehman's announcement, two things are clear: the 9,000 new jobs the base was supposed to provide is more like 1000 to 1500 temporary and 200 permanent posi-

tions, and the seven ships that will make up this Naval Surface Action Group will likely carry at least a few dozen atomic weapons. Within five years, the U.S.S. Iowa is slated to carry Tomahawk sea-launched cruise missiles—some of which will have hydrogen warheads with an explosive force of 200 kilotons. Surface-to-air missiles with nuclear explosives and nuclear depth charges are among the weapons on the support ships. Thus, the Surface Action Group will turn New York into a strategic military installation.

At the time of Lehman's announcement, the only opposition came from activists in the peace movement. Since then, opposition has become more widespread and it is growing.

In August, 11 New York Congressmen—all of whom, except one, originally supported the Staten Island base—sent a letter to Lehman in which they charged that the Navy's policy of secrecy in refusing to confirm the presence of nuclear weapons on the Surface Action Group "denies the area's residents the opportunity to make an informed decision on the relative safety or danger of permitting the missiles in port." (Joseph Addabbo and another notable Queens representative, Geraldine Ferraro, did not sign the letter.)

There are currently two resolutions pending before the New York City Council. One resolution would designate New York City as a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone and would prohibit the production, transport, storage or deployment of nuclear weapons within the city. The other resolution is specifically targeted at the Navy's plan and would prohibit ships carrying nuclear weapons from entering New York harbor.

The Coalition for a Nuclear Free Harbor, comprised of over 80 peace and community groups as well as elected officials, has collected over 30,000 signatures on petitions supporting the resolution to ban nuclear weapons from the harbor. In November, the Coalition plans to sponsor a Lobbying Day at the City Council in an effort to win unanimous support for the resolution. Demonstrations have been held once a month since the plan was announced and Coalition leaders promise to stay "in the streets" until they are successful in reversing the Navy's decision.

Meanwhile, in the state of Washington, activists who are fighting the Navy's decision to base a 15-ship aircraft carrier battle group (certain to carry nuclear weapons) in the city of Everett are preparing for a non-binding "advisory" vote on the November ballot. They're also lobbying the local congressman, Al Swift, who supports the Navy's decision but has a nearly perfect antinuclear voting record otherwise. —John Raymond and Robby Newton

Ideas That Work



The world's love affair with the Bomb is still going strong, so it's not surprising that a growing number of grassroots antinuclear organizers are pursuing strategies that are packed more with sting than with symbolism. Take Nuclear Free Zones (NFZs), for example. Until recently, all of the country's NFZs were symbolic, in that they prohibited the manufacture, research and development of nuclear weapons in places where no such activity was taking place. Although educational—and practical in a preventive kind of way—these NFZs did not create the slightest glitch in the nation's humming nuclear weapons industry.

But last November, the day after *The Day After* aired, the City Council in Takoma Park, Maryland (pop: 16,000), unanimously voted for an NFZ with a twist. Their version mandates divestment of city funds from—and boycott by city agencies of—any corporation involved in nuclear weapons manufacturing.

Takoma Park, located six miles north of Washington, D.C., has no investments in companies that help to make bombs, but it *does* need new radios for its police force. And General Electric (GE), the nation's fourth largest nuclear weapons contractor, was the City Consultant's recommended supplier of those radios.

"The bid for the radios was so specifically written it looked like GE was the only company that could supply them," says NFZ organizer Susan Abbott, a painter (and daughter of the city's mayor). "This created quite a scene. Everyone knew that buying the radios from GE would be violating the law. But some City Council members wanted to amend the NFZ ordinance to say that in matters of public safety the city *could* buy from a nuclear weapons manufacturer. And then one councilman wanted an exemption in cases of 'quantifiable economic advantage' and one wanted to add a 'buy American clause!'" Local press coverage was decidedly anti-NFZ, in most cases implying that the ordinance was endangering the lives of Takoma Park citizens.

"That's just a lot of crap," says the city's brash, 75-year-old mayor, Sam Abbott. "Why the hell doesn't anyone notice it was the goddamn police force that let its radios turn into junk?"

Abbott vows to keep the NFZ ordi-

nance intact. "A few people's knees are knocking together, but not a comma can be changed on it," he says. "We've got the sense to know that providing for the common defense does not mean providing for the common obliteration."

Mayor Abbott's impatience with the wavering City Council members prompted him to hire a private consultant (who came considerably cheaper than the city's did) to research the radio problem. He discovered that Takoma Park could order the radios from a "clean" corporation—and save \$50,000 in the bargain.

But Takoma Park's controversy is not resolved yet; a committee has been set up to review the case, and hearings on amending the ordinance are pending. NFZ backers, though, are optimistic. "We're *making* this thing work," Susan Abbott says. "We can show that we're actually increasing government efficiency because of the ordinance, and at the same time we're setting the first example of a city's non-support for policies that can only be called suicidal."

If this sounds like something you'd like to try, Susan Abbott warns that it's only for "communities with a strong political will." A mayor like Sam Abbott, of course, couldn't hurt. (See Resources, page 21, for more NFZ information.)

* * *

If you're just not up to sticking it to GE, a little symbolism can, admittedly, go a long way. In Eugene, Oregon, activists painted a graph on a street running through the University of Oregon. The



"mega" graph depicted—in interior latex paint—the federal budget for 1985. One inch of paint equals \$40 million. This gives you an education budget line that's 33 feet long. The 398-foot-long military budget line, on the other hand, requires a three-block stroll to traverse.

Several local television stations and the AP wire picked up on this idea, according to organizer Leslie Brockelbank, who adds that "people are awed by the size of the thing." She's pretty sure that it will remain legible through the elections. Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC) has prepared very helpful "how-to" instructions for the project, which cost just \$100 to pull off. Write to CALC at 372 W 10th Av, Eugene, OR 97401.

—Renata Rizzo

Upsetting a president?

Peace Issues Pick Up Steam

“We all began the year saying the movement's chief goal was to play a key role in the presidential race,” says Bill Curry, executive director of Freeze Voter '84. “But the Democratic primary race was so frustrating that by August people were less focused. It's only now sinking in—to the whole progressive movement—just how important this presidential race is.”

The delayed recognition seems to have been mutual. Many peace activists feel Walter Mondale was shamelessly slow in making the arms race an important issue, and tended to take the support of the peace constituency too much for granted—to the point where, even in late August, many peace workers weren't sure what his arms control position *was*. Tamara Stanton, who coordinates nuclear freeze-related efforts for Mondale-Ferraro, admits that in this regard the candidate's early emphasis on defense readiness was no help.

Meanwhile, many in the peace movement were looking at Mondale as a less-than-perfect candidate who favors the Trident II missile and backs military budget increases. “We all got into the posture in the last few months of pressuring the Democrats,” says Curry, “and it was almost as if we couldn't break the habit. Sometimes I heard more criticism of Mondale than of Reagan. And that's surreal.”

Now, however, the situation may be changing. In early September, in speeches in Utah and Oregon, Mondale renewed his call for moratoria on the testing and deployment of certain nuclear weapons. “These were clear, unambiguous endorsements of the freeze and the quick freeze,” says Curry. Now Freeze Voter and other organizations are intensifying efforts to encourage their membership not just to vote against Reagan but to work for his opponent. (NUCLEAR TIMES does not and cannot support candidates. For a look at the fall activities of a leading “anti-freeze” group, see “Anti-Freeze Drive Heats Up” on p. 15.)

SANE, for example, is devoting a newsletter to the Democratic platform,

calling it “the best . . . the disarmament movement has ever had.” Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND PAC) has produced a radio ad in which founder Helen Caldicott urges listeners to “cast the most important vote of the nuclear age.” (Caldicott will also



Election may turn on turnout

spend the rest of October on the road spreading this message, which she has emphasized throughout the year.) And many peace groups have begun urging their members to work as individuals with local Mondale offices.

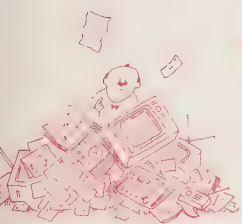
At the same time, Mondale headquarters is working harder to reach out to peace activists. Karen Mulhauser, executive director of Citizens against Nuclear War, has taken a leave of absence from CAN to help both the Mondale campaign and the Democratic National Committee. Working under Stanton, she now chairs the End the Arms Race Coalition in Mondale headquarters. From there, Mulhauser is contacting her own network of peace workers and identifying activists to serve as liaisons between the peace community and the campaign. An early goal was to help organize “America for Mondale” house parties on October 7 to feed money into Mondale efforts in individual states. Ultimately, of course, her goal is to generate more volunteers for Mondale.

“Our first message will be to leaders of the peace movement,” Mulhauser says, “asking them to do all they legally can as individuals to help Mondale, and persuading them they're part of the problem if they don't. Our second goal is to reach the general public with Mondale's peace plan and assure them it's feasible and safe.” Mulhauser's office provides local peace groups planning an event with a “surrogate speaker” to explain Mondale's proposals: someone like Paul Warnke, John Anderson, Representative Ed Markey, Carl Sagan, Father Robert Drinan or Admiral Noel Gayler.

Most peace PACs cannot legally coordinate their efforts directly with Mulhauser's office. One group that can is WAND PAC, which chose not to make an “independent expenditure” on Mondale's behalf. But according to Nancy Donaldson, national field director, WAND PAC is now asking “some of its best contacts” to work with the Mondale camp on house parties, canvassing and networking. Donaldson says that Stanton and Mulhauser are “willing to let the peace movement educate the Mondale campaign.”

In fact, the organized peace movement has a good deal to offer. First, it has bodies; in several states peace activists are now turning up at Mondale offices one night a week to run phone banks. “I'm excited and frankly surprised at the number of activists involved,” says SANE PAC Director Mike Mawby. Donaldson also reports “a high level of volunteer commitment,” with many WAND members taking leaves of absence from schools or work to volunteer until the election. In addition, says Curry, past votes on freeze referenda reveal (and Freeze Voter door-to-door canvasses confirm) that “the areas where large numbers of swing voters reside are often those where freeze support is strongest.” Many Freeze Voter offices are now working on that faith by canvassing and phonebanking in areas where turnout is traditionally low and/or where people tend to vote the issue more than the party.

“We've found an amazing percentage of people who think Reagan supports the



Turn to Nuclear Times

☐ **YES, I want to subscribe now and save!**

Please enter my subscription at the special
Charter Rate of one full year for \$15 (get an extra
issue if you include payment with order).

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ **My check is enclosed for \$ _____.**

(Get an extra issue if you include payment with order. Add \$7 for Canada, \$17 foreign, for
1-2 week delivery.)

☐ **Bill me.**

☐ **I am enclosing an additional contribution of \$ _____ to support NUCLEAR TIMES.**

(This contribution is tax-deductible.)

X94



NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES

BUSINESS REPLY CARD

FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 7996 NYC, N.Y.

Postage will be paid by addressee

**Box 1308 EA
Nuclear Times
Fort Lee, N.J. 07024**





Turn to Nuclear Times

☐ **YES, I want to subscribe now and save!**

Please enter my subscription at the special
Charter Rate of one full year for \$15 (get an extra
issue if you include payment with order).

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ **My check is enclosed for \$ _____.**

(Get an extra issue if you include payment with order. Add \$7 for Canada, \$17 foreign, for
1-2 week delivery.)

☐ **Bill me.**

☐ **I am enclosing an additional contribution of \$ _____ to support NUCLEAR TIMES.**

(This contribution is tax-deductible.)

X94



NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES

BUSINESS REPLY CARD

FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. 7996 NYC, N. Y.

Postage will be paid by addressee

**Box 1308 EA
Nuclear Times
Fort Lee, N.J. 07024**



freeze," says Jacques Levy, chairman of the Northern California Freeze Voter office. "Too many others don't know Mondale's position, or think he's a Johnny-Come-Lately on arms control. We're putting out literature now emphasizing his history of supporting the issue."

Levy's office is a good example of the kind of sophisticated operation the peace community can offer. "We know where freeze support is because people voted on it two years ago [when a freeze referendum was on the California ballot]," Levy says. "We've targeted 500 precincts where we can do the most good, we hope to canvas 250,000 voters, and we're doing it all with volunteers. Our phone banks in Sonoma County are averaging \$700 a week in \$5-\$10 contributions. If it's a close election, we can make a difference."

Other activists agree that their strategy can work if all other components fall into place. "We see our role as providing the margin of victory by reaching those people who voted for Reagan in '80 but might change their vote on the basis of nuclear issues," says Jessie Stratton of Connecticut Freeze Voter. One-third of this state's voters are unaffiliated, and Reagan won there in 1980 by a smaller margin than voted for John Anderson. "But the key to our success is having Mondale's people turn out the base Democratic vote, and sometimes we're concerned that that's not happening in Connecticut," Stratton adds.

All these activists insist that their success will depend on clear signals from Mondale. "Everything flows from the candidate," says Bill Curry. "We depend on Mondale-Ferraro to provide the public leadership for our organizing by being more outspoken, consistent and clear." Yet despite the September speeches, concern continues that Mondale is not making the arms race a focal issue of the campaign. "He should be putting the freeze on the front page every day," complains Mike Rubin, executive director of New Jersey Freeze Voter.

A related problem is that the press seems more interested in the religion issue and the deficit. At considerable effort, Rubin's office and New Jersey SANE PAC got Ferraro to speak at a September 12 rally where both offices endorsed the Mondale ticket. Yet TV and radio coverage focused almost entirely on an anti-abortion contingent heckling Ferraro from outside the hall.

Rubin can barely contain his frustration at Mondale's slow start. He claims to have seen data from Mondale's own pollster indicating that "war and peace is the only issue he can win on. It's the one

**Are you inundated with facts and figures
on the Nuclear Arms Buildup?**

**Do you want to keep up
on the efforts to
reverse the Arms Race?**

**Are you concerned
about the threat of
Nuclear War, but don't
know where to turn?**



Turn to Nuclear Times

If you, like most of us, are sometimes confused or overwhelmed by the twisting course of nuclear-related events and issues, you'll be grateful to find this helping hand.

Each month you will be provided with the latest information on the efforts to reverse the Nuclear Arms Race.

You will find:

- Informative, fact-filled news.
- Profiles on movement leaders, innovators, activists & thinkers.
- The latest & best resources—books, bulletins, video tapes, directories & more.
- Coverage of the '84 elections.
- Plans, strategies, opinions.

So don't hesitate. Here at last is **Nuclear Times**, the one place to turn.

YES, I want to subscribe now & save!

Please enter my subscription at the special Charter Rate of one full year for \$15 (get an extra issue if you include payment with order).

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

My check is enclosed for \$ _____

(Get an extra issue if you include payment with order. Add \$7 for Canada, \$17 foreign, for 1-2 week delivery.)

Bill me.

I am enclosing an additional contribution of \$ _____ to support
NUCLEAR TIMES.

(This contribution is tax-deductible.)

Send to: Box 1308 EA, Nuclear Times, Fort Lee, New Jersey 07024

X9-1

place Reagan's vulnerable."

Stratton adds that the polls have shown for years that a large majority of Americans support the freeze. "That support is soft—in follow-up questions, people show nervousness about whether a freeze would work. And Reagan is doing a great job of playing on those doubts. Mondale could capitalize on the yearning—the great hunger people feel to stop the arms race. And he could bring the freeze legitimacy by backing up its emotional appeal with facts. Then even if he lost, he'd be doing us a great educational service."

Like many activists, Stratton sounds vexed when she describes this road-not-taken. She alludes to late-night meetings where debate raged over whether the race was winnable at all (at one point her board considered dissolving the local Freeze Voter office so members could work individually for congressional candidates). "But for now," she concludes, "we're going full steam ahead as if we could make a difference."

And no matter what happens on November 6, says Stratton, "you could never call this year a wasted effort, with what we've gained in expertise and clout." Connecticut's Freeze Voter office is now organized in all six congressional districts as opposed to "barely two when the year began. And we're taken seriously now by the political powers here," adds Stratton. She still remembers an early-campaign phone call where she was asked, "What's *Connecticut Free Soda*?"

—Cathy Cevoli

PACs Update

SANE PAC. Though SANE PAC has not endorsed Mondale, members plan to "critically support him," says Mike Mawby, who adds that SANE will have paid staff "in every state that could conceivably be considered a swing state." Most will focus on congressional races, such as Les AuCoin's campaign in Oregon and SANE board member Tom Harkin's in Iowa. The group is distributing over one million copies of a "Help Wanted" leaflet highlighting Reagan quotes and misstatements; they are also raising money to air a 30-second radio spot (featuring the infamous "Bomb Russia" Reagan "joke") in key presidential states.

COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD (CLW) and its related Peace PAC, ran a quarter-page fund-raising ad in the September 9 *New York Times* comparing Reagan's arms control record with that of other Presidents. According to Legislative

Latest results

Primaries Color Election Season

The results of several primary contests in early September set the stage for some of the most interesting House and Senate contests in the country this fall.

Two "headache races" (from the anti-nuclear PACs' point of view) were resolved in New York City. For months these PACs had a difficult time deciding what to do about incumbent congressmen Bill Green and Joseph Addabbo. Green, who represents Manhattan's "Silk Stocking" district, is one of the few Republicans who has generally opposed President Reagan on weapons issues. Some wanted to reward him with PAC endorsements, proving that the anti-nuclear movement is not strictly tied to the Democrats and that it will help those who help the movement; others reasoned that it was tactically important to have a colleague on "the other side of the aisle." The only problem: a woman with an even stronger arms control record and commitment, Betty Lall, was running in the Democratic primary in the district. (Lall had lost to Green in 1982.)

What to do? SANE PAC decided to endorse both candidates—in their primary races. But what if Lall won her primary? That wasn't to be, however. Manhattan Borough President Andrew Stein topped Lall in the voting and now

faces Green in November. At press time SANE again was split over whom to back.

In the other key New York race, Joe Addabbo, chairman of the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, faced a strong challenge from Simeon Golar. Addabbo carries a lot of baggage:



Markey supporters on primary morning

He is head of an extremely important committee and is a key critic of the MX; on the downside, he favors the basing of a nuclear-weapon-laden Navy fleet in New York Harbor (see p. 10) and he receives a lot of PAC money from weapons contractors. Golar has little background with nuclear issues but is an articulate black leader in a district where minorities are now the majority.

What to do? The Queens SANE chapter remained neutral, bucking SANE PAC's decision to support Addabbo (SANE PAC even sent a fulltime worker to his campaign.) SANE PAC became even more committed to Addabbo after Representative Bill Chappell won his Democratic primary contest in Florida; if Addabbo lost, Chappell, a pro-nuclear buildup conservative, was next in line to head the Appropriations Subcommittee. Alas, on September 11, Addabbo beat Golar handily.

In other House primaries of interest: Dudley Dudley, a longtime liberal activist in New Hampshire, squeaked to a 1000-vote win over James Demers and now faces a tight contest with Republican Bob Smith for an open seat. The district is two-to-one Republican and the national GOP has targeted Dudley for defeat. William Carney, an arch-conservative from Long Island, New York, won a GOP primary by only a few

Director John Isaacs, CLW sees its primary role as fundraising, not campaigning; the group has raised over \$700,000 to date (ultimate goal: \$1 million) for congressional candidates.

FREEZE VOTER '84 has sent fulltime staff to supplement state workers in 10 key states, including three (Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey) where freeze support is strong and the presidential race close. Freeze Voter is also strongly supporting congressional races in Iowa, Illinois, New Hampshire, Maine, Texas, Massachusetts and Minnesota. "Our number one priority is getting phone banks moving," says Bill Curry.

WAND PAC has endorsed 30 congressional candidates (and may endorse another 10) as well as the Mondale-Ferraro ticket. Chapters are continuing voter registration and other grassroots work; the all-volunteer effort is helped by a new WAND fact sheet, "How to Help Your Candidate." WAND PAC has also produced 26 radio spots for individual candidates and a get-out-the-vote radio ad, all featuring Helen Caldicott. —C.C.

hundred votes and this has given hope to his longshot Democratic challenger, George Hockbrueckner, a strong arms control candidate. (Carney's district is overwhelmingly Republican, however.)

In one of the most closely watched contests, Representative Ed Markey, a freeze leader in Congress, survived an unexpectedly sharp challenge from Samuel Rotondi, a former state senator. Markey lost some support in the state because of his political flipflop earlier this year (he started running for the Senate seat being vacated by Paul Tsongas, and then abruptly quit).

There were three key Senate contests as well. In Massachusetts, Lieutenant Governor John Kerry (the former Vietnam vet leader) edged a fellow liberal, Representative James Shannon, for the Democratic nod. It looked like a tight race in November was in the offing, because former Nixon cabinet officer, Elliot Richardson, was expected to win the Republican race. (Richardson is rich and moderate in a state where moderate Republicans, such as former Senator Edward Brooke, have done well.) Raymond Shamie, a businessman (and a Reagan Republican) swamped Richardson in the primary, and now Kerry is favored to win.

Two strong pro-freeze women won Senate primaries. Joan Growe, Minnesota's Secretary of State, trounced several opponents to get the Democratic nod in that state. Incumbent Rudy Boschwitz is outspending Growe by about 9-to-1, however, and Mondale has gotten off to a slow start in his home state, hurting Growe. In Colorado, Lieutenant Governor Nancy Dick's surprisingly narrow triumph over Carlos Lucero in the Democratic primary hurt her chances against incumbent William Armstrong, a "Coors conservative."

—Greg Mitchell

Anti-Freeze Drive Heats Up

Pace groups are not the only organizations conducting educational campaigns around nuclear war issues this fall. Many well-funded conservative groups are attempting to combat anti-nuclear electioneering with their own well-timed efforts.

Take the American Security Council, for example. The ASC, based in Washington, D.C., has organized what it calls The Coalition for Peace Through Strength, which claims to include 237 members of Congress and 158 national

SEND THE GIFT OF PEACE



★ Share your vision of a nuclear-free future with the people who are special to you.

Send Nuclear Times

\$15 for a single gift subscription.

Save \$3 with each additional subscription.

That means only \$12 each with 2 or more orders!

Yes, I want to send a gift subscription to the following.

name _____

address _____

city _____ state _____ zip _____

and send me a gift card for each subscription I am giving

my name _____

address _____

city _____ state _____ zip _____

My check is enclosed for \$

List additional names on a separate sheet and send to **Nuclear Times, 298 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10001**

INVEST IN YOUR PRINCIPLES.

Now you can start putting your money where your heart is. There is a new generation of professional organizations and individuals dedicated to balancing your investment objectives with your social concerns.

Order your copy of the *1983-84 FUNDING EXCHANGE DIRECTORY OF SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE INVESTMENTS*: the most up-to-date listings of socially responsible—

- ✓ money markets
- ✓ mutual funds
- ✓ co-operative enterprises
- ✓ investment advisors

Send \$5.00 to the Funding Exchange, Rm. J, 135 E. 15th St., New York 10003.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

organizations. One of the ASC's directors is Retired Admiral Thomas Moorer. The group's most recent direct mail fund-raising appeal, while non-partisan on the surface, trumpets President Reagan's military build-up at every turn, and warns that "the nuclear freeze campaign is rapidly building momentum for the 1984 elections in November." In addition, the direct-mail letter (dated August 16) vows that with the money raised ASC would "in the next few months" distribute millions of petitions, buy TV and print ads, and "expand our Political Action Committee."

The direct-mail letter, written by ASC President John Fisher, begins: "Dear _____: You and I will be among the first to be 'reeducated,' if not outright 'eliminated' in the event of a nuclear freeze. You see, it's one thing to worry if a Soviet missile is aimed at your town. *But it's quite another to know that your name might be on a 'hit list' in the Kremlin.* [Italics his.] To know that you fit the profile of a 'class enemy' who will be locked up, and jailed or killed, if our national defense system fails . . . as it surely will, if the nuclear freeze crowd gets its way. And it COULD happen. That's why I've enclosed a 'Russian-English Phrase Card' for you. . . . Because if the United States fails to adopt a firm position of strength in the face of continued Soviet expansion and unprecedented military buildup—you may some day truly need a 'Russian-English Phrase Card.' And quite frankly, a 'nuclear freeze' now would guarantee it!"

The letter goes on to charge that freeze

leaders want to "unilaterally freeze our side." It reveals that the U.S. tried a freeze in the 1960s and it didn't work; that the Soviets cheat on every arms control treaty; and "if the nuclear weapons freezers get their way, we'll be defenseless in 12 years!" Fisher cites as victories for the ASC the defeat of the SALT II treaty and the building of the B-1 and MX. "Remember, our opposition is very powerful," Fisher concludes. "The Nuclear Freezers have lots of money and nearly full support from the media. Their growing strength so threatens our security that I'm not at all exaggerating when I say you may need the enclosed 'Russian-English Phrase Card.' I hope you won't let me down." —G.M.

Try 'Til November

The Freeze Campaign is calling election day "Turnout Tuesday" and urging activists to take the day off work to help get out the vote. But the Freeze is not the only group concentrating on G.O.T.V., as Jan Meriwether of Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) calls it.

WAND and 12 other national peace groups, including Clergy and Laity Concerned and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, are members of Human SERVE's "Millions More By October 4" coalition (called "On The Line By October 9" in some states) which focused on registering new

voters. The coalition is now calling on activists to follow up their registration work with letters and phone calls. "Register ten, write ten, call ten," is their slogan. In some cities they're organizing phone banks and transportation to the polls on election day.

But in addition to working with Human SERVE, non-partisan antinuclear groups are pursuing a plethora of educational projects to persuade the people (and the candidates in the last days be-



Persuading the people to vote for a change

fore the election) that the issue is the arms race.

- Jobs with Peace (JwP) referenda in Los Angeles, Erie and Reading, Pennsylvania, Racine, Wisconsin (and possibly one in Detroit) will focus JwP efforts on those cities, but the organization is also planning to coordinate leaflet drops and phone banks with local Human SERVE coalitions.

- Educators for Social Responsibility will not be doing any direct election work, but it is producing a curriculum guide called "Elections" for junior high and high school students which will help students understand nuclear issues. The "Elections" curriculum will also illuminate the forums and candidate debates which the League of Women Voters is organizing across the country.

- United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War (UCAM) is working on college quads, promoting seminars called "Alternative Approaches to National Security: What's at Stake in the 1984 Election." The group is also distributing an analysis of Reagan and Mondale's stands on arms control. Citizens Against Nuclear War is distributing a similar comparison.

- Physicians for Social Responsibility, the Union of Concerned Scientists and the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control have banded together to form the Professionals Coalition, which will allow the most politically active

SENATE UPDATE

Aides to Michigan's **Carl Levin**, targeted by the GOP as the most vulnerable Democratic incumbent, complain that the peace movement is providing few volunteers for his campaign against former astronaut **Jack Lousma**. That may be because early polls show Levin with a big lead. The problem: insiders view these polls as horribly unreliable Governor **Jay Rockefeller** has long been considered a shoo-in for the Senate seat being vacated by West Virginia Democrat Jennings Randolph, but conservative Republican **John Raese** is mounting an unexpectedly strong challenge A poor showing by Mondale in November could kill several candidates, including "**Landslide Lloyd**" **Doggett**, who now trails Representative **Phil Gramm**, a Republican, in Texas Arkansas Senator **David Pryor** may be Mondale-proof, however. A SANE PAC favorite, he's pulled well ahead of challenger **Ed Bethune** In five races involving Democratic candidates with strong antinuclear backing going up against Republican incumbents: Representative **Tom Harkin** now trails well-funded **Roger Jepsen** by a few percentage points in Iowa. In Illinois, Representative **Paul Simon** remains neck and neck with **Charles Percy** (right-wing Republicans are supporting the Libertarian Party candidate, Steven Givot). **Libby Mitchell**, who has refused PAC money, is getting killed in the spending department in Maine by **William Cohen** (who has received wide support from such arms contractors as Grumman, Rockwell, United Technologies and McDonnell Douglas). **Judith Pratt**, a strong peace activist, still trails **Pete Domenici** but the Democratic Party has been growing in New Mexico. **Norman D'Amours** seems to be falling behind **Gordon Humphrey** in New Hampshire. —D.L.

members in these groups to work together on such projects as printing issue papers, voting records, and fact sheets (and using them to question candidates on arms race issues). The group is also distributing generic letters-to-the-editor and is setting up candidate forums.

- The Arms Control Education Project in Washington, D.C., is sponsoring workshops which teach phone-banking, fundraising, getting out the vote, and publicity techniques. They also offer specific instructions on how groups can increase their visibility within a congressional campaign.

- WAND is distributing its "Children Ask the World of Us" posters as subway and bus advertisements in 17 cities. The group is also sending out letters to public officials across the country suggesting they offer flex-time to their employees on election day to assist voter turnout drives.

—Douglas Lavin

Commercial Value

It begins with a scene of a man, pushing his son on a swing. "When I hear talk of winnable nuclear war, of doubling the defense budget, of spending billions to turn the heavens into a battleground," he says, "I don't like it." The commercial is one of three television ads created for the Committee for a Strong Peaceful America (formerly known as the Peace Media Project), by Peter Fenn and Associates, Inc., a Washington, D.C.-based adver-

tising company. The group has also produced three radio ads. All are based on a detailed analysis of opinion polls that revealed how the public's concerns about the arms race can be addressed most compellingly.

The Committee for a Strong Peaceful America plans to use some of its targeted \$500,000 budget to run the ads "hundreds of times," says Mimi Baron of Richard Pollock Associates in Washington, D.C., which is coordinating the ad campaign. The ads will be broadcast—through the elections and beyond—in selected areas, including Portland, Oregon, Lansing, Michigan, downstate Illinois, Iowa, and Washington, D.C. They will also be made available to local groups through national organizations that participated in the project, such as the Council for a Livable World and the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, or through the Committee itself (for inquiries, write PO Box 53188, Washington, D.C. 20009). The cost will be about \$5 per radio spot and \$35 per television spot. The ads are nonpartisan and cover a variety of subjects, from children's fears of nuclear war to the increasing risk of accidental war.

—Alex Miller

Mondale, With Tears

The mixed feelings harbored by many in the movement about Walter Mondale were expressed in a campaign sign designed by Xerox Artists for Social Responsibility in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The sign's message: "VOTE MONDALE. At least you'll *live* to regret it."

a slight edge, another says McCloskey is behind, and the Council for a Livable World wisely labels it a toss-up Helen Caldicott helped out with a couple of fundraisers in Cleveland in mid-September for **Edward Feighen**, a strong pro-freeze candidate who suddenly seems to be imperilled by a well-funded conservative, **Matt Hatchadorian**

SOUTH: North Carolina's first-term congressman James Clarke has a slight lead over the man he defeated by a little more than 1000 votes in 1982, **William Hendon**. Hendon outspent Clarke almost 2-to-1 then, and is receiving a lot of conservative PAC money this year

EAST: In what one antinuclear PAC person calls "everybody's favorite race," Connecticut freshman **Bruce Morrison** (strongly supported by Freeze Voter) has only a slight edge in a rematch of his tight '82 race which unseated **Lawrence DeNardis**.

—D.L.

HOUSE UPDATE

WEST: In Oregon, **Les AuCoin**, the Democratic leader of the battle against the MX, is still running neck and neck against **Bill Moshofsky** in a race which has attracted a great deal of national attention and PAC funding. **Jerry Patterson**, a Democratic incumbent in Southern California, now has a slight edge over far-right challenger **Robert Dornan**. But many peace activists complain that Patterson has not taken consistent antinuclear stands in the campaign

MIDWEST: SANE is mounting a big effort on behalf of **Lane Evans** in Illinois, who now seems to be ahead of conservative **Kenneth McMillan**, who has received maximum backing from the national GOP In Indiana another incumbent, **Frank McCloskey**, is in a tight race with **Rick McIntyre**. One PAC gives McCloskey



This compact book by one of Europe's leading economists examines the disarray and discontent within the Atlantic Alliance and the shift in the balance of power between Europe and America. Professor Gunder Frank suggests that a solution for the problems of both East and West may be found in a pan-European alternative—a rapprochement that could open possibilities for a European denuclearized zone and point the way to world peace and disarmament.

THE EUROPEAN CHALLENGE

From Atlantic Alliance to Pan-European Entente for Peace and Jobs
by Andre Gunder Frank

Paperback/\$6.95 At Bookstores or order direct (P.P.E.): **Lawrence Hill & Co.** 520 Riverside Ave. Westport, CT 06880 (203) 226-6392

• NUCLEAR • TIMES

SAVE WITH A GROUP SUBSCRIPTION

In order to get NUCLEAR TIMES into as many hands as possible, we are offering discount group subscription rates which offer substantial savings. Each month NUCLEAR TIMES will be sent directly to your home.

Regular yearly price: \$15
3-19 subs: \$12 ea. (20% savings)
20-49 subs: \$9 ea. (40% savings)
Over 50 subs: \$8 ea. (47% savings)

For more information or to order your group subscription, call Kippie Norris collect at (212) 563-5940

DAVID CORTRIGHT

New Plans and Renewed Vision

(continued from front cover)

In recent years, SANE and other groups have focused on the MX as the most winnable nuclear arms issue and as a vehicle for mobilizing political opposition to the Reagan arms buildup. Thanks to years of effort by tens of thousands of



people all over the country, we are gradually winning this fight. The MX has been scaled back considerably and it is unlikely that it will ever become the kind of massive first-strike nuclear threat it was initially planned to be.

While we're winning this skirmish against the MX, though, we're losing the larger struggle to halt the arms race. We've concentrated on winning the MX campaign, while failing to slow the larger momentum of the arms race. If we had applied a similar effort on behalf of a broader approach, we might have achieved greater progress toward real arms reduction.

As we look beyond the MX to a more comprehensive approach, our first task is to develop a strategy for implementing the nuclear freeze. The freeze is our very best hope—perhaps our last hope—of stopping the first-strike momentum of the nuclear arms buildup. The question is, how do we achieve this goal? We need an approach which can recapture the spirit of the freeze and fire public imagination. We also need to show that peace is possible—that even under a second-term Reagan Administration, we can take steps toward halting the arms race. We need both long-range vision and a plan for immediate victories.

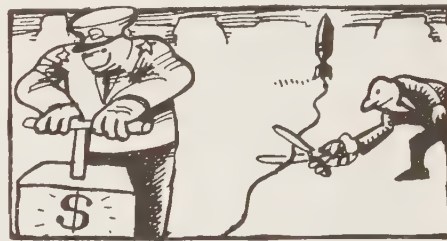
Last year, the National Freeze Conference addressed these concerns by voting for a partial or "quick" freeze. The quick freeze legislation which emerged in Congress this year calls for a halt to nuclear testing (specifically, underground warhead testing, ballistic missile flight

tests and anti-satellite testing), and it uses a congressional funding moratorium as the means of enforcing this demand. This attempt to halt nuclear testing through a suspension of funds is, in my view, correct. It should remain the centerpiece of our legislative strategy.

Unfortunately, while the aim is right, the vehicle for implementing it is wrong. The quick freeze has generated considerable criticism and controversy because it fails to address the critical question of the cruise and Pershing 2 missiles. The bill puts us on record as approving funds for nuclear testing if the Soviets don't respond in the specific way demanded. (Is this really what we believe? Aren't we opposed to nuclear testing and space weapons regardless of what the Soviets do?) The certification process contains major loopholes.

How do we get beyond the problems with the quick freeze? How do we resolve the debate over limited versus comprehensive freeze? I believe there is a simple answer: We should support both approaches. We should formally adopt a two-track strategy: 1) pursue the original goal of an immediate, *comprehensive* freeze on all nuclear weapons, and 2) at the same time attempt to stop nuclear

testing through a moratorium on funding. The two approaches are mutually complementary. By stopping nuclear testing we would pave the way for a complete halt to the arms race and make the adoption of a comprehensive freeze more likely. In place of the complicated formu-



lations of the quick freeze, we could raise two simple and clear demands: **FREEZE THE ARMS RACE. STOP NUCLEAR TESTING.**

The demand for a halt to nuclear testing should become a major new focus for our work in 1985. As the world observes the 40th anniversary next year of the Hiroshima bombing, it is eminently appropriate that humankind declare an end to nuclear testing and make a new beginning for peace and arms reduction.

As the first step in this direction we should demand that whoever is inaugu-

Survey Results

After discussing "new directions" and new collaborative structures for several months, NUCLEAR TIMES sent a survey on these issues to a cross-section of local and national "movement" groups this summer. We've received more than 50 responses so far. The most positive result of this unscientific survey, however, is this: The *process* of responding seemed to inspire many activists who previously had not looked past the November elections to discuss and debate these issues for the first time.

So far the survey shows that, by a roughly 2-to-1 margin, groups favor the formation of some kind of national "federation" of peace/anti-nuclear organizations. Those who support this idea want it to transpire in early 1985, and there is fairly strong support for holding a "unity" convention to help bring it about. What activities should the proposed federation coordinate? The order of preference seems to be: lobbying in Wash-

ington, D.C., setting priorities and planning actions, media relations and (a rather distant last) fundraising. As to overall goals for the federation, a majority supports a broad platform, which would encompass nuclear weapons, intervention and "peace with justice" issues. (Only a handful call for setting as an immediate goal "deep cuts" in the nuclear arsenal or complete disarmament, so it seems that the freeze-first approach still has wide support.)

Those who opposed the federation—a sizeable minority—listed as the prime reason the belief that a grassroots, decentralized approach (with local and regional collaboration) works best. By a 2-to-1 margin, the respondents (pro- and anti-federalists alike) said that groups should pay more attention to intervention issues. Asked to list the priorities for 1985, no single plan stood out but, somewhat surprisingly, "direct action" topped the list. Next issue we'll present more detailed results, and reprint some of the written responses.

—Greg Mitchell

David Cortright is executive director of SANE in Washington, D.C..

rated as president in January immediately suspend nuclear testing and challenge the Soviets to follow suit. Mondale has pledged to adopt this course, and if he is elected we should demand that he fulfill his pledge promptly. If the president refuses to take such action we should mount an all-out effort to achieve this goal through a congressional suspension of funding. We should press for a moratorium on nuclear testing—applied initially to underground warhead testing and ASAT's and then extended to ballistic missile flights and other components of the arms race. This testing moratorium approach builds upon our experiences this year in the House of Representatives, where moratorium amendments were attached to the MX, ASAT's and sea-launched cruise missiles. What I am proposing is that this approach be continued and extended, and focused on nuclear testing.

The approach I am advocating differs from simply supporting a Comprehensive Test Ban. The CTB is a desirable goal, but it is not likely to happen soon. Such a treaty depends on compliance by not only the United States and the Soviet Union but other nuclear powers as well. As such, it gives the two superpowers a convenient excuse for not stopping tests. Also, merely advocating *negotiations* for a treaty can be a futile and demoralizing process. For example, the Senate's recent passage of the Kennedy-Mathias CTB Resolution has had no impact on moving us closer to a test ban.

If we really want to have an impact, we should focus on cutting funds. We should demand that Congress use its power of the purse to initiate a testing moratorium. Specifically, we should propose that funds for nuclear warhead testing and ballistic missile flight tests be suspended for a six-or-nine-month period and that no funds be permitted after that, provided the Soviets also refrain from testing. This would follow the example of the Kennedy Administration in 1962, when the United States suspended testing, the Soviets followed suit, and the two sides quickly signed the Atmospheric Test Ban Treaty.

This stop-nuclear-testing proposal avoids the problems of the quick freeze while remaining true to the position adopted at the December 1983 Freeze Conference. It is a first-step approach which focuses on the most verifiable components of the arms race and seeks to achieve this result through a congressional suspension of funding. As noted, this demand for a halt to nuclear testing should be coupled with support for a comprehensive freeze. Whatever plan we develop, the goal of a *complete* halt to the arms race must remain a top priority.

The two-track strategy I am proposing

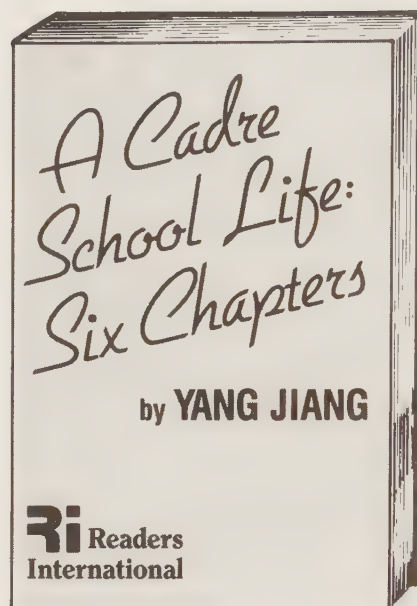
Books that make things happen.

Readers International announces a remarkable series in contemporary world literature. Each hardcover volume, by subscription, is just \$7.95 (Retail prices average \$13.35).

Your subscription begins with Yang Jiang's lucid, personal meditation on the Cultural Revolution, the ordeal inflicted on 20 million Chinese intellectuals. "Yang is a distinguished old lady; she is a playwright; she translated Cervantes. Yang lived through a disaster whose magnitude paralyzes the imagination . . . She is a subtle artist who knows how to say less to express more. Her *Six Chapters* are written with elegant simplicity." (Simon Leys, *New Republic*) "An outstanding book, quite unlike anything from 20th century China, superbly translated." (*Times Literary Supplement*, London)

It will be followed every other month by a new hardback, priced specially at **\$7.95 + \$1 postage** (a savings of up to \$7 on retail prices): **Nicaragua: To Bury Our Fathers** by Sergio Ramírez "Sophisticated, savage, lyrical, a timeless epic, an invaluable insight into the mind and myths of Central America that never get on the evening news." (Ariel Dorfman, author of *Widows*) **South Africa: A Ride on the Whirlwind**, Soweto youth in revolt, by black poet Siphosiphema Sepamla.

Czechoslovakia: My Merry Mornings, sardonic stories of Prague by the banned Ivan Klíma. **Saudi Arabia: Najran Below Zero** by Palestinian Yahya Yakhluf. A tour de force that explores the mind of religious fundamentalism; and **Chile: I Dreamt the Snow**



Was Burning by Antonio Skármeta. "One of the best pieces of committed literature to emerge from Latin America" (*Le Monde*).

Each book was initially banned at home: RI is committed to publishing literature in danger. Each is from the past 10 years; each is new here. Subscribe now and give these gifted writers a voice in English—and yourself a powerfully good read at a very modest price.

READERS INTERNATIONAL
Subscription Service Dept
Drawer E, Columbia, LA 71418



Please begin my subscription to RI's new series, beginning with *A Cadre School Life*. Every other month I receive a new hardback, each at the \$7.95 subscriber price (+ \$1 postage). At any time I may cancel simply by writing to you.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

☐ Enclosed is my check to Readers International for \$8.95. A SPECIAL SAVINGS: I want to save money, & save RI billing costs, by paying \$36 for a charter subscription for all six volumes:

☐ I enclose my check for \$42.00, incl. postage.

P1

allows us to take practical steps toward slowing the momentum of the arms race, while remaining true to our original vision of a comprehensive freeze. The choice should not be either/or, but both.

* * *

What are the organizational means needed to achieve our goals? We should recognize that the peace movement remains relatively weak institutionally. No progress toward a freeze and reduction of arms will be possible without a quantum leap forward in the organizational clout of the peace movement. Our strategy must include a long-term effort to expand the organized constituency for peace. This must include a consolidation and coming together of existing organizations both nationally and at the grass roots level.

We must also recognize the importance of coalition politics—of overcoming the racial barriers which still divide us. During the presidential primaries, for example, Reverend Jesse Jackson provided the clearest stand on peace issues, yet few of us supported him. We should recognize who our allies are and bring the peace movement into the Rainbow Coalition.

Are we ready to link our concern about nuclear war to broader peace issues? I believe we can and must do so. In particular, we should work for reductions in military spending and a noninterventionist foreign policy.

Let our imaginations be bold enough to envision a *radically* different security policy. We should remember that just 20 years ago, the United States and the Soviet Union came to a preliminary agreement on a plan for general and complete disarmament. The McCloy-Zorin Agreement of 1962 called for a mutual, phased reduction of all nuclear and conventional armaments by both sides. If these questions could be considered in the 1960's, why shouldn't they be addressed now? And isn't it time that we press for a *comprehensive* economic conversion plan which can redirect our industrial resources toward peaceful purposes?

The program of the peace movement must be both visionary and practical. Our long-term goals and short-term objectives must be tied together in a series of steps which lead steadily to reduced levels of armament. For the long run, we need a motivating vision which goes beyond our immediate goals and allows us to maintain the commitment of our supporters for sustained peace activity. We also need practical goals which can be won in the short run and which build momentum for our larger aims. Both are necessary if we wish to draw in new people and inspire them to greater levels of commitment and action for peace. □

ANN MARIE CUNNINGHAM

Resources

BOOKS

Towards a Safer World: Defense Experts Answer the Hard Questions About the Nuclear Freeze, by Christopher Paine and David Halperin. This book attempts in 130 pages to "respond seriously to the toughest objections raised by critics." One key chapter deals with verification and Soviet "cheating." Among the experts most commonly quoted: McGeorge Bundy, William Colby, Admiral Bobby Inman, Clark Clifford, George Kennan. (\$3.95 from Physicians for Social Responsibility, 200 Third Street SE, Washington, DC 20003, 202-547-7990. An abridged 70-page version, \$2, from Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 3195 South Grand Blvd., St. Louis, MO 63118.)

The Nuclear Crisis Reader, edited by Gwyn Prins. Based on a 1983 symposium at Cambridge University, this book is a detailed supplement to the PSR handbook. Academics and former government officials examine whether nuclear weapons and deterrence are useful, what the legal, philosophical, and moral implications of the arms race are, and how it could be halted. (Vintage paperback. \$3.95.)

FILMS

The Crossroads of Time. This film, which records a speech given last March by Dr. Helen Caldicott in Santa Rosa, California, will be very useful for galvanizing communities before and after the November elections. The pediatrician and peace activist describes the disappointments of her private meeting with President Reagan and also details the new U.S.-Soviet scientific findings about the "nuclear winter." And yes, she says one more time, "A baby is a baby." Vintage Caldicott. (50-minute color videotape, produced and directed by Dick Bell. \$25 rental, pre-election special through November 1, 1984, plus \$4 postage and handling, from Peaceful Planet Productions, Inc., 1705 Joy Ridge Road, Box MJ, Bodega, CA 94922-0150, 707-876-3436.)

Citizen: The Political Life of Allard R. Lowenstein. Al Lowenstein (1929-1980) was a key organizer of the voter registration campaign in Mississippi in 1963-64, and also a co-founder of the 1967 "Dump Johnson" campaign. This film portrait would have benefited from more discussion of the tactics used by this tenacious organizer and activist, but it is still a very moving portrait of a man who inspired many to involve themselves in progressive politics for the first time—

and to remain involved. Particularly striking is a group interview with Long Island suburban women who worked on Lowenstein's first Congressional campaign. (60-minute color videotape, produced and directed by Julie Thompson. \$85 for 3 day rental, \$200 purchase, plus handling and shipping from Time-Life Video Distribution Center, 100 Eisenhower Drive, Paramus, NJ 07563, 201-843-4545.)

Stronger Than Before: The Women's Encampment for Peace and a Future of Peace and Justice. For the past two summers, a group of American women, following their predecessors at Greenham Common in Great Britain, and Comiso, in Sicily, camped near the Seneca Army Depot in upstate New York, a nuclear weapons storage facility and the departure point for cruise missiles bound for Europe. This film, which focuses on the camp's first summer, records women

SPECIAL MENTION

Pentagon Inc. Although the United States claims not to have an industrial policy, this 60-minute film makes clear that in actual fact, we do have one—the Pentagon's way of doing business. The military is now the nation's largest and fastest growing economic sector, employing one-third of American scientists, and changing the course of contemporary education by funnelling the best and brightest undergraduates into defense research and development. The Pentagon has become the American equivalent of Japan's Ministry of Trade, which supports the research and development that has given Japan its edge in commercial electronics. In contrast, the Pentagon, by underwriting products that usually have limited commercial application, and by dealing with its contractors in ways that "at best condone mediocrity, and at worst reward it," is actually undermining America's ability to compete in international commercial markets. With research assistance from the Highlander Center in Newmarket, Tennessee, the producer demonstrates the Pentagon's power to sustain or destroy jobs, industries, companies, and entire towns, as happened when a steel company kept alive by its military contracts moved from Ohio to Tennessee. In other interviews, former workers at a non-union plant that produces sleeping bags for the Pentagon describe sweatshop conditions that result in shoddy products, and regular hoodwinking of the DoD inspector. An important film. (Color videotape produced and directed by Sherry Jones. \$85 for 3 day rental, \$200 purchase, plus postage and handling from Time-Life Video Distribution Center, 100 Eisenhower Drive, Paramus, NJ 07563, 201-843-4545.)

presenting Depot guards with a statement of protest, a major peace march, and the problems and support the campers encountered in dealing with local residents. Interviews with the women underline their linking of feminist and pacifist philosophy: "We're never going to end war without dissolving patriarchy." (27-minute color videotape produced and directed by the Women's Video Collective [WVC]. \$35 rental, \$65 purchase from WVC, PO Box 1609, Cambridge, MA 02238, 617-492-2126.)

Briefings on Peace and the Economy. In his four briefings, Seymour Melman, professor of industrial engineering at Columbia University and economic conversion expert, describes the Permanent War Economy and provides a detailed overview of the need for economic conversion and how it might be accomplished. The films show Melman in a classroom, against a blackboard, with occasional cutaways to the attentive audience. Invaluable for groups that really want facts, but less useful if you need film entertainment to get points across. (Four color videotape lectures, 55 minutes each. For rental and purchase information, contact SANE, 711 G Street SE, Washington, DC 20003, 202-546-7100.)

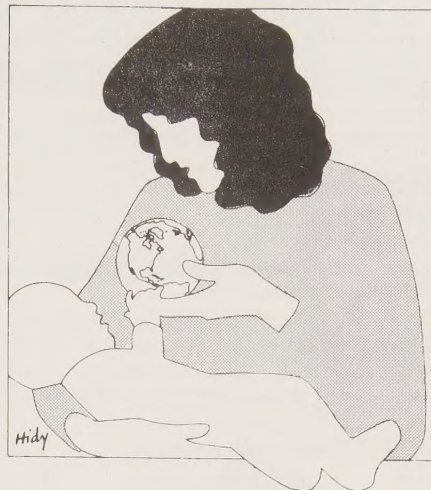
Between Men. The filmmaker, Will Roberts, who won an Academy Award for his previous film, *Men's Lives*, believes that "one cannot speak of the military without speaking of masculinity." He examines how men's upbringing prepares them to equate the two by interviewing young children, veterans, a former mercenary, and career military officers. A provocative and disturbing work. (57-minute 16 mm color film. \$75 rental from United Documentary, PO Box 315, Franklin Lakes, NJ 07417.)

NEWSLETTERS

Return Address: Moscow. International News Bulletin on Independent Peace Activity in USSR. Sergei Batovrin, a founder of the Group for Establishing Trust Between the USSR and the USA, and now exiled in the United States, is publishing a periodical designed to provide for the first time details of "independent" peace activity in the Soviet Union. The first issue (September) includes stories and photos of arrests, accounts of psychiatric imprisonment, appeals for peace, hints on "what you can do to achieve the widest dialogue possible with Soviet citizens," and names and addresses of several dozen Trust members with whom you can correspond. (\$3.50 for one issue, \$18 per year, to Sergei Batovrin, 1793 Riverside Drive, #5B, New York, N.Y. 10034.)

POSTERS

Children Ask the World of Us, a lovely, bright-colored poster by Lance Hidy,



being posted on buses and subways in 17 cities by Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament. Available as a poster (\$6.90), limited edition silk screen (\$57.50), note card (\$1.50 each), post card (\$1 each), from WAND, 691 Massachusetts Ave., Arlington, MA 02174, 617-643-4880.

REPORTS

Nuts and Bolts at the Pentagon: A Spare Parts Catalog, by Lori Comeau. To document Pentagon waste, this catalog details the exorbitant prices the DoD has paid for spare parts and tools over the last four years. The first section is particularly devastating: it contrasts hardware prices with what the Pentagon paid. You'll laugh—and you'll cry—over this formidable document; then you should write your Congressional representative. (\$5 from Defense Budget Project, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 236 Massachusetts Avenue NE, Washington, DC 20002, 202-546-9737.)

The Nuclear Weapons Industry, by Kenneth A. Bertsch and Linda S. Shaw. This excellent overview describes the producers of nuclear weapons and support systems, and includes profiles of 26 leading companies. The chapter on economic conversion discusses the barriers—notably the difficulty of finding profitable new markets—and the experiences of a handful of American companies who have actually tried conversion since World War II. An appendix, "Guide to Nuclear Weapons-Related Systems," includes descriptions of command-and-control and early-warning systems. (\$22 nonprofit or \$45 for-profit rate from Investor Responsibility Research Center, Suite 900, 1319 F Street NW, Washington, DC 20004, 202-833-3727.)

Nuclear Free Investment. Nuclear Free

America advocates nuclear free zones, and considers divestment and boycott of the nuclear weapons industry a key strategy. Here's divestment at-a-glance: the top 50 contractors, how to conduct a divestment campaign, reports on and directories of socially responsible investments and brokers. (\$3 from Nuclear Free America, 2521 Guilford Avenue, Baltimore, MD 21218, 301-235-3575.)

A Manual For Planning, Preparing and Publishing Peace and Disarmament Newsletters. A step-by-step guide for "those who have little previous experience with newsletters." (Free, from the Topsfield Foundation Inc., Route 169, Box 203, Pomfret, CT 06258.)

The Military in Your Backyard: How to Determine the Impact of Military Spending In Your Community, by Randy Schutt. An excellent 175-page guide for the average citizen which describes how to identify military contractors and what products they make, how to determine the impact of military spending on your area, and "how you can take the research you have done and use it most effectively." (\$13, plus \$1.20 postage and handling—another .80 tax for California residents—from Center for Economic Conversion, 222 View Street, Suite C, Mountain View, CA 94041, 415-968-8798.)

COMMUNITY BULLETIN BOARD

ACTION

ESTABLISHING A PEACE COMMUNITY. Information \$2 (xerox & postage) A. Lehman. Box 110-TN, Yachats, Oregon 97498

PEACE PEN PALS

If your group would like a **twin peace group** in England write to *Genia Goelz, Full Circle, Chagford, Devon, England, TQ13 8AA.*

EMPLOYMENT

Crackerjack circulation person needed for **NUCLEAR TIMES**. Must be resourceful, creative and responsible. Salary commensurate with experience. Good benefits, nice office atmosphere, important issue! For more information call Cynthia Kling-Jones at 212-563-5940.

Looking for a job? Why not advertise your skills in the classifieds. Remember—it's read by just about every antinuclear organization in the country.

GOOD READING

Neighborhood Nukes: An Organizers Guide to Locating Nuclear Weapons in Local Communities—\$1.25. Research Group On, 2743 Maryland Ave., Baltimore, MD 21218.

The Arms Race and the Paper Chase.

Too much to read . . . too little time.

There is a solution: the new Subscription Service of the Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race. Subscribers receive bi-monthly packets: "must-read" articles, action ideas, the latest word on new resources; all collated in a three-ring binder for easy use.

Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race,
132 N. Euclid Ave.,
Pasadena, CA 91101
(213) 449-9430.

ASSOCIATIONS

Bertrand Russell Society. Information: NT, RD 1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.

ARTS

Interested in producing a play/musical on nuclear war/peace? Contact Peace Productions, Box 4441, Phoenix, AZ 85030.

"269 THINGS WE'LL DO WITHOUT . . . IF WE DO THE BOMB" "A hilarious poster." "Awesome." Selling out wherever it's sold. Order direct: \$2.50 plus \$2.50 p&p, per address. Borealis Posters, Surry Maine, 04684 (that's all!) Quantity discounts. 207-667-8328.

"Fate of the Earth" poster

A beautiful 4-color 20" x 30" glossy poster depicting the evolution of the Nuclear Mentality through the history of technology. Immaculate Heart Center, 10951 W. Pico Blvd., LA, CA 90064. \$7 postpaid.

Organize a political POSTER ART EXHIBIT

Great for outreach and fundraising. Shows of mounted posters from Europe, Latin America and elsewhere (with titles) covering a wide variety of issues are available from Burlington Vermont WILPF.

Write for prospectus:

4 Deborah Dr., S.Burlington, VT 05401, or call (802) 864-5361.

PASS THE WORD

BOMBS AWAY NUCLEAR BEANS

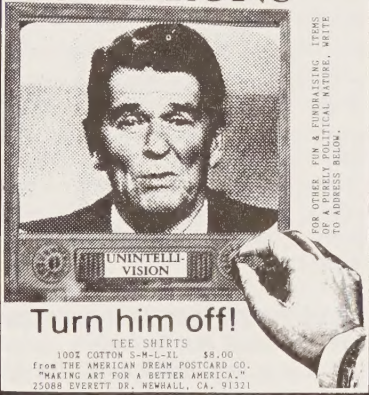
The Humorous, Serious, Factual, Fanciful Guide to the World of Nuclear Weapons For Gifts, Fundraising. Includes Gourmet Jelly Beans and "The Nuclear Bean Handbook" Send \$3.00 per set to Peace Productions Box 4441, Phoenix, AZ 85030



PEACE IS MATRIOTIC!!

T-SHIRT: OFF-WHITE ON PURPLE
SM - M - L - XL -
\$6.50 EACH - \$60.00/DOZ
NEWARK PEACE FELLOWSHIP, P.O. BOX 391
NEWARK, DE 19711 (302) 368-4813

NO RE-RONS



Turn him off!

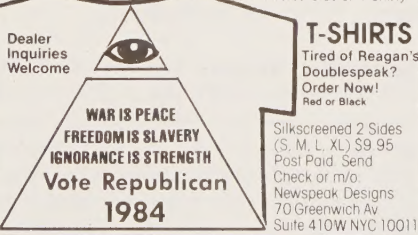
TEE SHIRTS
100% COTTON S-M-L-XL \$9.00
FROM THE AMERICAN DREAM POSTCARD CO.
"MAKING ART FOR A BETTER AMERICA."
2508B EVERETT DR., NEWHALL, CA 91321

BUTTONS, BUMPERSTICKERS:

Your message custom printed, also wide selection in-stock. Wholesale—excellent fundraisers. Free catalog (specify in-stock or custom printing).

DONNELLY/COLT, Box 271-NT, New Vernon, NJ 07976 (201) 538-6676

RONALD REAGAN IS WATCHING YOU



PASS THE WORD

WANTED: VEHICLES FOR EXPRESSION

(You And/Or Your Car Will Do Nicely!)



A. (Army Parody)
Forest Green
Bumperstickers
\$1.00
(10 or more .65 ea.)

B. T-Shirts:
White on Army
Camouflage, \$8.
Forest Green or
Olive Drab, \$7
(50% Cotton/Polyc)

FREE CATALOG, AND LOTS MORE!

JOSE KANUSEE

Box 11444 Milwaukee, WI 53211

ITEM	QTY	COST	COLOR/SIZE (S-XL)

*ALL PRICES INCLUDE SHIPPING

*Wisconsin Residents, Add 5%

Name _____

Address _____

Custom-printed

• BUTTONS • DECALS • BUMPERSTICKERS

and many other items!

SINCE 1961 WE HAVE OFFERED LOW WHOLESALE PRICES TO PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATIONS For FREE Catalog and Listing of over 150 in-stock items (nearly 1000 organizations use our items to raise funds!)

Write or Call:

LARRY FOX
BOX M-18

VALLEY STREAM, NY 11582
(516) 791-7929

Get The Word Out

RATES

Per Word: 80¢ a word/15 word minimum (PO Boxes count as two words, phone numbers and abbreviations count as one word).

Per Inch: \$17 per column inch (1" deep x 2 1/4" wide), 4" maximum. Camera Ready Copy Only!!

FREQUENCY DISCOUNT

2-4 insertions: 70¢ per word, \$16 per column inch

5-8 insertions: 65¢ per word, \$15 per column inch

9-10 insertions: 60¢ per word, \$14 per column inch

Mail to: Community Bulletin Board, Nuclear Times, 298 Fifth Avenue, Room 512, New York, NY 10001.

NATIONWIDE/ONGOING ELECTION YEAR CONCERT TOUR

Singers Holly Near, Ronnie Gilbert and others are touring the country this fall to urge people to "vote for a change," and will be working closely with voter registration and get-out-the-vote groups. Some of the cities they'll visit: **Boston, New York, St. Louis, Atlanta, Dallas, Salt Lake City and Tucson.** For a complete itinerary, *contact:* Redwood Records, 476 W MacArthur Blvd, Oakland, CA 94609 (415) 428-9191.

FREEZE WEEKEND OCTOBER 12-14

Hundreds of events are scheduled across the country to "make the freeze the issue" in this year's elections, including a major regional peace march and rally in Chicago on **October 13**. For more information, *contact:* Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign National Clearinghouse, 3195 S Grand St, St. Louis, MO 63118 (314) 771-6211.

WEEK OF EDUCATION OCTOBER 15-22

The Union of Concerned Scientist's national teleconference, "Breaking the Nuclear Stalemate," will be carried live via communications satellites on **Monday, October 15**. Panelists will include, among others, Adm Noel Gayler, Randall Kehler, Richard Garwin and Henry Kendall. Although this is the highlight of the Week of Education, numerous educational programs, planned by the cosponsors of the Week, will take place across the country. For more information, *contact:* UCS, 26 Church St, Cambridge, MA 02238 (617) 547-5552.

RADIO FREE

Tapes of the 89-minute documentary "Ronald Reagan and the Prophecy of Armageddon" are available—free—to all CPB qualified public radio stations for unlimited broadcast before **Election Day**. (See p. 10 for more information.) *Contact:* Joe Cuomo, c/o WBAL-FM, 505 Eighth Av, New York, NY 10018 (212) 279-0707.

THE PEN IS MIGHTIER . . .

From **October 25–November 15**, "Nuclear Disarmament and World Peace: An exhibition of Work by Calligraphic Artists," can be seen in Washington, D.C. at the Daryl Reich Rubenstein Art Gallery at the Sidwell Friends School. More than 70 calligraphic artists have submitted works for this juried, international exhibition. From **January 1–17**, the display will move to the Cannon Rotunda, Cannon House Office Building, U.S. House of Representatives. For more information, *contact:* Nuclear Disarmament and World Peace, c/o Phyllis Goodnow, 2200 19 St NW, No 807, Washington, DC 20009 (202) 387-6865.

THE HARVEST OF SHAME

This ongoing action, featuring daily demonstrations and civil disobedience outside of the White House to protest current military and social policies, will culminate in a massive resistance action on **November 3**. *Contact:* Community for Creative Nonviolence, 1345 Euclid Av NW, Washington, DC 20009 (202) 337-4332.

Calendar

**A free listing of antinuclear events from coast-to-coast.
Please submit events as soon as they are scheduled.
December events due by November 9.**

OCTOBER 19

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** The Children's Peace Festival will include a performance of the play *Peace Child*, as well as workshops, exhibits, celebrations and a parade taking place at a specially designed Peace Village on the State Capitol Mall; **through Oct 21**. *Contact:* Rev Sally Hill, Twin Cities Metropolitan Council of Churches, 122 W Franklin Av, Rm 218, Minneapolis, MN 55404 (612) 870-3662 or 646-8805.

OCTOBER 20

INDIANA

• **Indianapolis** March and rally at the Naval Avionics Center, where research for the cruise missile is conducted. *Contact:* The Indianapolis Peace Coalition, 3808 N Meridian, Indianapolis, IN 46208 (317) 924-1553.

MICHIGAN

• **Detroit** Organizers hope to create a 6½-mile human chain—the Survival Line—from the Artillery Armory to the Light Guard Armory. *Contact:* Detroit Area Nuclear Weapons Freeze, PO Box 2257, Detroit, MI 48226 (313) 577-5053.

WISCONSIN

• **Madison** Conference, "Re-Thinking War and Peace in a Year of Decision: The Challenge to Education," with Wisconsin Governor Anthony Earl, Ret Adm Gene LaRocque, Educators for Social Responsibility President Roberta Snow, and others; with workshops, plenary sessions, and more; Wisconsin Center. *Contact:* ESR, PO Box 55029, Madison, WI 53705 (608) 238-5092.

OCTOBER 22

NEW YORK

• **Olean** "Nuclear Issues, the Public and the Media," with journalists Thomas Powers and John P. Demeter, *Nuclear Times* editor Greg Mitchell and local activists; St. Bonaventure University, **through Oct 24**. *Contact:* Mary Hamilton, Peace Studies Program, St. Bonaventure University, Olean, NY 14778 (716) 375-2520.

OCTOBER 26

INDIANA

• **Bloomington** "Deadly Connections Conference," on the relationship between nuclear weapons and U.S. intervention, with Michael Klare, Suzanne Gordon and others; Indiana University, **through Oct 27**. *Contact:* Milton Fisk, Bloomington Peace Coalition, Indiana Memorial Union, No 48K, Bloomington, IN 47405 (812) 335-7774.

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Conference, "The Impasse in USSR-US Arms Negotiation: How We Got There and How to Move Beyond It," with Paul Warnke, Alan Geyer, and others; Augsburg Music Auditorium, **through Oct 27**. *Contact:* Robert Bryant, Minnesota Theological Consortium (612) 633-4311.

OCTOBER 27

CONNECTICUT

• **Groton** Demonstration against the Trident submarine in solidarity with the British CND, which will be simultaneously demonstrating against Trident in Great Britain; Griswold Park to Electric Boat Shipyard. *Contact:* Harvest of Life or Harvest of Shame, 178 Nicoll St, New Haven, CT 06511 (203) 787-2664.

OCTOBER 29

CONNECTICUT

• **West Hartford** Panel discussions on "The Boys Behind the Bomb," "The Military Budget and the Feminization of Poverty," and "The Impact of the Gender Gap on Politics." Videotape of "The Nuclear Gender Gap: Women in Peace," featuring Dr. Helen Caldicott, will also be shown. *Contact:* The Freeze/West Hartford, c/o Carol Mesineo (203) 523-9645.

OCTOBER 30

NEW YORK

• **New York** Second annual Olive Branch Awards for outstanding coverage of the nuclear weapons issue, with John Irving, Lee Grant, Jules Feiffer, Arthur Miller and others; Essex House Hotel. Sponsored by the Editor's Organizing Committee and the Writers and Publishers Alliance for Disarmament. For RSVP and questions, *contact:* Olive Branch Awards (212) 621-9847.

NOVEMBER 3

MONTANA

• **Butte** Forum, "The Economics of Nuclear Deterrence," with Sheila Tobias. *Contact:* Montana Citizens to End the Arms Race, Box 138, Anaconda, MT 59711.

WYOMING

• **Jackson** Second Tri-State Antinuclear Leadership Conference for Montana, Idaho and Wyoming; **through Nov 4**. *Contact:* Peace and Disarmament Program of the Northern Rockies Action Group, 9 Placer St, Helena, MT 59601.

NOVEMBER 4

CALIFORNIA

• **Los Angeles** "Election '84—Strength through Peace," will feature a Circle for Survival around the West Los Angeles Federal Building, rally, entertainment, and the signing of the "Children's Ballot for Peace," to be delivered to the White House on **Nov 5**. Peace groups throughout California are urged to attend. *Contact:* Santa Monica/Venice Alliance for Survival, 1013 6 St, Santa Monica, CA 90403 (213) 399-1000.

NOVEMBER 6

ELECTION DAY

NOVEMBER 14

WASHINGTON

• **Poulsbo** "Women on the Line," an evening of stories with some of the women who travel and speak along the tracks of the White Train. *Contact:* The Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action, 16159 Clear Creek Rd NW, Poulsbo, WA 98370 (206) 692-7053.

NOVEMBER 16

NEW YORK

• **New York** Eighth annual National Conference of the Mobilization for Survival (MFS). *Contact:* MFS, 853 Broadway, New York, NY 10003 (212) 533-0008.

TEXAS

• **Dallas** Third regional conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (Texas and Oklahoma), with Jim Wallis, Nora Hallett, and others, and featuring workshops, films, music, worship and more. Non-FOR members welcome, **through Nov 18**. *Contact:* Barbara Hunter, 5544 N Colony, Lewisville, TX 75056, or call (214) 370-3805.

NOVEMBER 20

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Valley Forge** Pre-Thanksgiving witness at General Electric's Space Center, will include religious service and the building of a shanty, followed by an all-night vigil. On **Nov 21**, events will include a religious service, the carrying of the shanty onto GE property (nonviolent civil disobedience) and a legal vigil. *Contact:* Brandywine Peace Community, PO Box 81, Swarthmore, PA 19081 (215) 544-1818.

NOVEMBER 29

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Northampton** Art auction to benefit the Traprock Peace Center; International Galleries. *Contact:* Catherine Nagel, Traprock Peace Center, Woolman Hill, Keets Rd, Deerfield, MA 01342 (413) 773-7427.

SOUTH CAROLINA

• **Columbia** Conference, "Nuclear Winter and the Prevention of Nuclear War," with Paul Warnke, Richard Barnett, Richard Falk, Bishop Leroy Matthiesen, and others; **through Dec 1**. *Contact:* Peter Sederberg, Institute of International Studies, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208.

Compiled by Renata Rizzo

Thanks to everyone who mailed in events.

PEACE CHILD

EMPOWERING CHILDREN TO END THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR

"The Peace Child Study Guide" is one of the fastest selling curriculum plans on the nuclear issue in America. Based on a musical show which is set in a future peaceful world, it approaches the issue from the perspective of a world that has already solved the problem. The story is told in flashback of how Soviet and American children meet, analyze their differences and develop ways of resolving them. The story, and the study plan, lead them through an analysis of the horror of nuclear war, current diplomatic efforts to prevent it, the uses of the media, discussions with US and Soviet leaders, a confrontation with the Military Industrial Complex, and a final successful brainstorming of solutions.

The Guide has been used in the classroom as a stimulant to discussion, and over a hundred productions have been mounted over the last eight months, with casts of anywhere between six and 150 adults and children. Each production is different: the study plan encourages children to develop their own dialogue thus in a real sense becoming the children of the story, empowering them to believe that they can achieve peace in their lifetimes.

"PEACE CHILD" works best when whole communities come together to produce it as a celebration—a positive focus to re-energize peace efforts and draw in new activists. Among the events scheduled for October are the following:

MINNESOTA PEACE CHILD FESTIVAL

October 19th, 20th, 21st

"PEACE CHILD" is the focus for a Twin Cities Festival exploring positive futures. There will be Festival performances of "PEACE CHILD", a 'Peace Child Assembly' in the State Capitol, a Peace Child Village on the State Capitol Mall with entertainment, international foods, educational exhibits, workshops, videograms to USSR, exhibits by other peace groups, and many more attractions. **CALL (612) 870-3662 FOR ALL INFORMATION.**

PEACE CHILD SEATTLE

October 12th, 13th, 14th

A cast of over 100 children drawn from all over the metropolitan area will present "PEACE CHILD" in the round in the Civic Arts Center. Following the Sunday matinee, there will be a forum in which cast members will ask congressional candidates the questions that they asked of the political leaders in the play. **CALL (206) 547-7739 (ESR).**

FUTURE PLANS

US/Soviet Space Bridge: Peter Ustinov has agreed to host a unique TV Spectacular which will bring the Peace Child story to life by linking casts of children in the USA and USSR via a 2-way satellite. Soviet State Television has confirmed their interest in producing the Moscow end. We are currently seeking a US production company to co-produce, co-finance, and distribute the program in the West.

US/USSR Peace Child Summer Workshop: We are seeking 15 American children to come to the Soviet Union in July/August 1985 to work with Soviet children creating a new script. Age: 11-17; must be able to speak (or be prepared to learn) some Russian. Write to us giving details of your experience, talents, and why you would like to come. Final selections will be made in April 1985.

Education for a Peace Industrial Complex (EPIC) Conference: At the end of "PEACE CHILD", the children determine to replace the military industrial complex with a Peace industrial complex: "What will that look like?" they ask; "We don't know but we're sure going to find out!" We want to start finding out now, so have scheduled a conference in Santa Fe, NM, in April 1986; position papers are being sought now on conversion, application of inter-active learning technology, testing and assessment in peace studies, harnessing the profit motive to the healing of the planet, and other matters pertinent to the preparation of a new generation equipped to live on a peaceful planet.

FOR INFORMATION CALL: (703) 385-4494

THE PEACE CHILD FOUNDATION

President: David Woolcombe Project Co-ordinator: Rosey Simonds Administrator: Lucia Effros

MATERIALS:

Peace Child Foundation

Box 33168, Washington, DC 20033

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

No.

Peace Child Study Guide @ \$12.50 \$ _____

(incl. Music Scores)

Peace Child Script Only @ \$ 5.00 \$ _____

The Peace Book (Benson) @ \$ 9.50 \$ _____

Sound Cassette (songs) @ \$ 7.50 \$ _____

Add for postage/handling: 1.50

I would also like to make a tax-deductible contribution
to the work of the Peace Child Foundation: \$ _____

Total Enclosed: \$ _____